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ART. I.—SLAVERY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

Histoire de l'Esclavage dans l'Antiquité. Par H. WALLON.

De l'Abolition de l'Esclavage ancien en occident. Par E. BIOT.

WE have, in earlier numbers of this Review, discussed the subjects “of Slavery as it existed among the Romans,” and the results which have followed from the application of abolition principles in the British West India Islands, and on the American Continent. As a complement to these, we now propose an examination into the various forms of slavery, and the conditions of society in which the institution has heretofore existed.

The existence of slavery is attested by the oldest chronicles of the human race. The Hebrew annals, which profess to connect us with the Creation, show the germ of slavery, as planted in the bosom of the first family. The woman was made subject to the “rule” of her husband, as a punishment and consequence of the first transgression. In the family spared from the deluge, one was sentenced to be “a servant of servants,” as a penalty for a father’s transgression. This was in accordance with the ideas prevalent afterwards among the nomadic tribes of Asia. The father exercised dominion over his family, and the child bore the consequences of the parents’ offences. The same annals teach us that slavery abounded in a few generations after. The “father of the faithful” was a

slave-master. He acquired slaves from donation, and they were reared in his house. His grandson, who gave his name to the Israelites, purchased his wives from their fathers. These wives brought to the marital roof maid servants, who were surrendered to the lusts of their husbands, and the offspring was appropriated and reared by their mistresses as their own.

The favourite son of the Patriarch was sold into slavery by his brethren; from which condition he emerged to become the ruler of Egypt. He employed his power in that office to purchase the persons of the people of Egypt, in a period of famine, with the taxes levied in a period of profusion and plenty. The Egyptians dealt retribution upon the posterity of the subtle minister, by making slaves of them; "and the service wherein they were made to serve was with rigour."

The posterity of Joseph and Jacob, escaping from the "hard bondage" of Egypt, naturally mitigated the lot of the Hebrew slave. The observance of the Sabbath day, as a day of rest; the Union of slaves with the Hebrew family, in the celebration of the feasts and holydays of the nation, were enjoined by their law-giver, because "the Hebrews had been slaves in the land of Egypt, and the Lord their God had brought them out, with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm." The tenure by which the Hebrew slave was held to service was limited in duration, and humanity was enjoined upon their masters as an obligation to the Lord.

Of the theocratic forms of government which were common in Asia, the Hebrews seem to have reached the highest range of religious ideas and the justest notions of civil polity. The fundamental principles of their theology and law—the unity of God and the common nature of the human race; the fundamental facts in their history and organization—that God had withdrawn their nation from bondage, and had thereby entitled himself to their services—originated a civilization, and a system, which has made an indelible impression on mankind.

On no other people was it inculcated that their existence as a nation depended upon their appreciation and habitual maintenance of abstract religious and moral truths. On no other people did the impression become permanent, that their exaltation was dependant upon their constant observance of a moral as well as sacrificial law.

"And it shall come to pass," says their law-giver to them, "if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and to do all his commandments which I command thee this day, that the Lord thy God will set thee on high above all the nations of the Earth, and all these blessings shall come on thee and overtake thee. Blessed shalt thou be in the city and in the field. Blessed shalt be the fruit of thy body and the fruit of thy ground," etc. etc.

Of the legislators, priests, and leaders, whom the gratitude of nations have elevated to be legates of Heaven, Moses is the most venerable and noblest type. The annals of Persia, Egypt, India and China, furnish messengers and teachers from Heaven, but their systems have had but little expansion, and have not served to advance man's progress. The truths of the Hebrew law may be found scattered throughout the lessons of other teachers; but, in the Hebrew system, they were concentrated and displayed, as the life-giving principle on which the existence of their nation depended. They were incorporated into the being of the people, and their political life was identified with their preservation.

The fact, that such a system was put into successful operation, would seem to indicate that the Hebrew commonwealth was organized among the last of those formed on the theocratic basis:—That it was established when populations, and individuals, were sufficiently educated to receive abstract truth; to recognise its superiority to sacrificial rites; to worship an invisible deity; and to abolish graven images. The facts of the Hebrew history show the modified form in which domestic slavery appeared among them. The family relation was one of the bonds which connected the Hebrew race together, and was carefully preserved. Servitude of the Hebrew tribes was not permanently provided. Such was, however, the case in regard to strangers. These were "made hewers of wood and drawers of water," and their bondage was rigorous and perpetual.

The priestly class was greatly elevated by the Levitical code, but it made no such claims upon the people as in states of antiquity similarly constituted. In India, it was received as a divine revelation, that when a Brahmin springs to light, he is born above the world; the chief of all creatures, assigned to guard the treasury of duties, civil and religious;—whatever exists in the uni-

verse is all in effect, though not in form, the wealth of the Brahmin; since the Brahmin is entitled to it all by his primogeniture and eminence of birth. The Brahmin eats but his own food, wears but his own apparel, and bestows but his own in alms; through the benevolence of the Brahmin, indeed, other mortals enjoy life. We discover, in this description of one race, what must be the condition of others. The towering pre-eminence of one, can only exist by the corresponding depression of others. We find, therefore, that the Soudra (*servile caste* in India) was allowed to follow certain trades, that he might be more useful to his masters; but was not allowed to accumulate riches, because he might vex the Brahmin by his insolence. It was declared to be his duty to serve the Brahmin—for he was created for that purpose—and his wealth was therefore for his masters. He could not be emancipated; for servitude was declared to be his *natural* condition, and how could he be released from it? Besides, these regulations which fixed immoveably the *status* of the Soudra, there were others, designed to exclude every effort at a change. The intermixture of the Soudra with any other class was forbidden by overwhelming penalties. Excommunication followed upon such a connexion. The offspring was banished from cities and towns, and was allowed no permanent abode in the country. They were required to wander from place to place: to pass through towns at night: to eat from broken vessels only; and to wear clothes like those of the dead. We see, at a glance, that the Brahmin were originally members of a conquering race, and that the population of India was not composed of members of the same family, like those of Palestine. The race of Judea, corresponding to the Soudra, could only be found in the Gibeonites and other remnants of the Canaanitish nations.

The fragments that remain of Assyrian and Egyptian histories, and the representations on their monuments, attest the existence of a servile race. On one of the Egyptian monuments a monarch is seen brandishing the sacrificial axe over the heads of his captives, symbolical of the power of the conqueror over his captives. It is recorded, to the honor of Solomon, that, in the magnificent constructions which signalize his reign, he levied bond service on the strangers in his land, and that the Hebrews were exempt. This same fact formed the

ground of a proud boast of an Egyptian monarch. He declared that no Egyptian arm had been fatigued by the erection of his pyramids and obelisks. War furnished him with the victims for these mighty undertakings. The histories of Persia and Phenicia both show that slavery existed, and markets for men were opened in their countries.

Writers in all ages have sought to penetrate that veil which hides the wickedness and violence that precede a condition of social order and the existence of civilization. The author of the book of Genesis covers this epoch, and all its memorials, with a deluge, and thus effaces the record of that period, "when the imaginations of the heart of man were evil continually," by an interposition of supernatural power. A condition of savageness and ignorance is the starting point in the history of every race. Whether from the want of food, or the instincts of a passionate nature, under the dominion of its appetites, or by divine power, the members of the human family were scattered over the earth. In this condition, social tasks would be destroyed, and animal passions predominate. The powers and phenomena of nature would be objects of terror, and her genial influences would excite gratitude. Man would soon loose the sense of his own dignity, and the knowledge of his capacity and dominion. He would become abject and degraded, in his own eyes, and pay adoration and praise to the agents and objects of nature. He would exaggerate the powers of animal and material things, and supplicate their aid, or deprecate their inauspicious influences. He would soon make a god of every being, and worship every thing, as God, but God himself!

The first step, emerging from this native state of the human being, would consist in the tie of the family. Emotions of love, and a desire of companionship, would attach persons of the opposite sex permanently to each other. The first efforts at care would be in the protection given to the offspring of that connexion. The first acts of providence would be in the supply of the animal wants. The first invention would be in the appropriation of the products of nature for food and clothing.

In all these vocations the *pater familiâs* would fulfil the most important function, and a "rule" over the family would follow from its very structure.

Hence, we find that, among all tribes in their native state, the absolute control of the father and husband, over the family, is permitted and recognized. Plato regards Polyphemus,

“The mountain savage in his blood-stained cave,
Gorged with the flesh where life yet quivers,”

As the type of the primitive society—

“The men fleeing into the wilderness, in former time, desolate and lay waste—who cut up mallows by the bushes, and juniper roots for their food,—to dwell in the cliffs of the valley, in caves of the earth, and in the rock,—constitute the materials from which human society and civilization have proceeded.”

We find in the condition of the family and the primitive ideas which ruled it, the means of this progress. The father was supreme. He gave to the family its laws and protected it from physical injuries and divine displeasure. This was done by propitiations and sacrifices. The first fruits of the earth, of the chase, of the flock, and herds, and, in times of extreme fear, of the family itself, were offered as an expiation for offences, or to conciliate favor. The father would thus come to be the priest of the family as well as its master. The period would arrive, in the progress of mankind, when the reputation of particular persons for religious knowledge would be spread over a district. These would receive offerings and obtain reverence from the families about them.

A relationship might thus spring up leading to the formation of communities. Various tribes or families might be united by the bond of a common sentiment of reverence for the same person. This person might entitle himself to the manifestation of that sentiment, by acts of public service. Men like Abraham, Melchisedec, Hermes, Melanopus, by determining the abodes of their families, their wisdom in divine things, their interpretations of the divine will, their communication of a knowledge of arts, or agriculture, would impress themselves upon the imaginations and affections of entire races. Out of these feelings of reverence, would spring the castes which are found among tribes in their savage state. Whole families would become objects of reverence and adoration, and would secure determined privileges in the tribe and district. These facts show the mode by which broad lines of separation would be made in a community leading to

the exaltation of some classes and the elevation of others.

We have noted these in the institutes of Menu ; they are clearly visible in the codes of Moses. The family of Levi was selected as the tribe of Priests, in lieu of the "first born" in every family and tribe, to whom pre-eminence was due. These were invested with dignity, and exempt from labor ; and the subjugated races of Gibeonites constituted hewers of wood and drawers of water for them.

It was in the nature of things, that the Priesthood should enter, as the most important element of a society in its native condition. Religious ideas have a greater and more constant sway over the minds of a society in such a condition. Supernatural agents being constantly present to their imaginations, a continual employment of the functions of the Priesthood, in intercession and propitiation, became necessary. The Priesthood, in all such societies, would be supreme, but could remain so only under favorable conditions. Where a country was entirely sequestered, and the population homogeneous, a dominion as permanent as that of the Brahmins of India, the Levites of Israel, the Priests of Egypt, or the Druids of the British isles, might be secured. In the absence of these conditions their predominance would soon be yielded to the military caste. We shall see hereafter the causes for this.

The means of a study of mankind, in their native condition, are afforded in the accounts given, by navigators and travelers, of the societies formed in the isles of the Pacific and South Seas, and on the North Western coasts of North America. The inhabitants of Van Dieman's Land, (a variety of the negro race,) when first visited by Europeans, had no agriculture, though settled on fertile lands. The climate of the island is rigorous ; vermin and insects abound ; thorns and briars grow with rankness ; yet, the natives were destitute of all protection or covering for their bodies. Their food consisted of fish and vermin—their habits were filthy—their only houses were of bark. They were without ideas of government, distinction of persons, or of social order. The members of the island lived apart and were weak, suspicious and cruel. In such a community, the precariousness of subsistence, and life, excludes all notions of degrees, and social differences.

The inhabitants of New Zealand are divided into many

tribes, each at war with the others. Having no efficient social organizations, every man is his own avenger. The inhabitants are distrustful, irritable and vindictive. Whether at home or abroad they go constantly armed. Their villages are fortified and they scarcely leave them to cultivate small strips of land in their neighborhood. The necessities of self-defence, the desire of vengeance, the pangs of hunger and famine, drive them into perpetual wars. When successful, they satiate their appetites for food, and glut their desire of vengeance, by feeding upon the bodies of the slain; murdering captive women and children, and drinking the blood warm from the veins of their victims.

The North American Indian of the western coasts occupies the same scale in civilization. In their victories over their enemies they spare neither age nor sex. If they make captives, it is to satisfy their savage hate by the use of more refined torments. Their children are fitted for war by early training in cruelty. They are practised to drink the blood of an enemy, and to inflict slow tortures upon prisoners. They exercise no arts, nor industry, but depend upon the chase for their food. These are all children of nature. These are the conditions from which the world's lawgivers and legislators have withdrawn the sons of men, and moulded them into societies and communities. Slavery, of course, does not make its appearance in these primitive states.

The Malay tribes of the Pacific have made some advances from these conditions. Their organization is fitted for a state of war, and recalls the social state of Greece, in the heroic ages, and Europe after the Germanic invasions. Among these tribes land is held and cultivated by individual proprietors. Fields are enclosed and roads have been opened and are maintained. The art of navigation is somewhat understood, and habits of providence, and care for the future, have been, in a degree, attained. Two classes in society are found in every tribe. One of these is the conquering class, who are the proprietors of the land, exercise the functions of command and government, and upon whom is reposed the support and maintenance of the State. The other is the enslaved class, who occupy the land, and cultivate it for the proprietors. In the Friendly Isles there was found a chief who was supreme in the whole, and who commands the armies of

the islands. In every island there are subordinate chiefs, who command in their district, and who have subordinates to them. These chiefs are the proprietors of the lands. They *own* the cultivators of the lands, and exercise over them the power of life and death. At the death of the supreme chief, or of any of his distinguished officers, victims are offered on their tombs, who are to attend him in the other world. The High Priest chooses these victims from the dependent classes, after having duly consulted their deity. At the sacrifice the left eye of the victim is plucked out and given to the chief, who puts it into his mouth without swallowing it. This ceremony is called "eating the man," and is symbolical of the power of the conqueror to eat his captives. This ceremony is maintained by the Priests with studious care. The women of the class of nobles are forbidden to intermarry with their inferiors. Children born of such alliances are exterminated. The inferior classes are distinguished by a mark. They cultivate the lands, and perform menial services for the nobles; they have no houses and their food is of the coarsest description. Their habits are filthy, and most of them are afflicted with cutaneous disorders. The main purposes apparent in the organization of these States, seem to be the defence against their neighbors, and the keeping of the inferior classes in subjection.

We refer to these societies of the new worlds, which modern discovery has opened, because they indicate the stage of progress at which the servitude of the captive commences to displace the practice of his destruction. In primitive states of society, during the long period of priestly rule, the degradation of the inferior classes of the society, and the destruction of the enemy, seem to concur. When that rule was displaced by the military, and war became the ruling passion of society, the creation of a servile class, who should supply the wants of the warrior by his labor, and perform for him menial service, became necessary and was universally attempted. It is needless to inquire in what manner the military classes obtained the ascendant in society. The fact is apparent in the history of nearly every nation of Asia and Europe. Wherever the priestly rule has remained in force, the civilization of the society has been stationary. It is in the nature of professional theologians to reduce to a few articles the faith and opinions, and to limit within a narrow compass

the duties of mankind. They make but little allowance for changes of circumstances; on the contrary, their desire would seem to be to maintain men under the same social conditions.

Important as religious ideas are in all states of society, and controlling, as we have found them to be, in its rude condition, it is apparent that much of what constitutes civilization is entirely beyond, and, in some degree, independent of them. It is not extraordinary then, that as society makes progress, other ideas should prevail, and in the civil polity of the State acquire the ascendant. We return then to the examination of social conditions in the States of Europe, when they had passed from the sway of priests to that of other orders of the States.

Vico tells us that philosophical and philological investigations lead to the conclusion that Homer and the Trojan war, are only symbols of a famous chronological epoch, and that of the existence of both the sagest critics doubt. That if there remained no more evidences of Homer than of a Trojan war, we should regard him simply as an ideal being. That the two poems which bear his name forces him to surrender half of this opinion, and to conclude that Homer is an ideal personage through whom Greece has chanted the history of its heroic ages, by means of its national songs. Regarding the Homeric poems as the embodiment of society during the heroic ages—those ages in which the gods, from unseen and terrific agents, had become visible to the eyes and definite in the conceptions of men—those ages in which the priest, though still a powerful and revered being, had lost his supreme sway over the hearts and opinions of men, we proceed to ascertain the organization of the servile society in those ages, from those poems. In the pictures drawn by Homer, slavery every where appears. The wrath of Achilles and its dread consequences to the Grecian cause, which form the subjects of the *Illiad*, was aroused by a contest with Agamemnon for the beautiful Brisies, his captive. War was the principal source from which slavery was supplied. The destruction of men, and the captivity of women and children, were the usual concomitants of invasion. The maritime situation of the States of Greece exposed them to incursions. Piracy was united with war as affording subjects to servitude. These incursions were not held to be disgraceful; and in them neither age, sex, nor condi-

tion, was spared. All were subject to these terrible calamities. None were exempt from the apprehension of most sudden and fatal changes in their social positions. The gods, themselves, had been subject to this melancholy allotment. Neptune, Mars, Apollo, Vulcan and Hercules, had been compelled to expiate offences by a servitude more or less protracted. The aged Queen of Troy, the daughter, wife and mother of heroes, in her lamentations, is made, by one of the poets, to express the thoughts which were common to her class :

“ The extreme,
The height of my afflicting ills is this ;
I to some house shall go, a hoary slave,
To some base task, most irksome to my age
Assigned : or at their doors to keep the keys
A portress shall I wait, the mother once
Of Hector,—or to labour at the mill ;
For royal couches, on the ground to make
My rugged bed ; and o’er these worn out limbs
The tattered remnant of a worn out robe
Unseemly to my happier state, to throw.
Ah ! for one woman’s nuptial bed what woes
Are mine and will be mine ! Alas, my child,
My poor Cassandra, maddening with the gods,
By what misfortune is thy purity
Defiled ? And where art thou, Polyxena,
Oh thou, unhappy ? Thus, of all my sons,
And all my daughters, many though they were,
Not one is left to sooth my miseries.”—

In the services of the household and of the family, slaves appear. The women are shown, at the mill, or the loom, in attendance upon guests, and in the preparation of the feasts. The men cultivate fields, tend flocks and herds, build enclosures, and perform domestic services. The power of sale by the master is recognized. A son of Priam was sold for a hundred cattle by Achilles, and other instances are mentioned. The third or fourth generations from the heroes of the Trojan war, were submitted to the calamities they had visited upon that city. The descendants of Agamemnon and Achilles were themselves reduced to bondage.

Slavery existed in Greece in several forms. In Thessaly the indigenous population was suffered to remain, upon conditions of service of a permanent character. They

paid fixed sums as a tribute, and could not be sold beyond the State. They were sometimes employed in the armies, and portions of them acquired wealth. There was a class corresponding to this in the Spartan Commonwealth. These were deprived of all political rights, and were devoted to agriculture. Some of their manufactures attained celebrity, and, as a class, they had great wealth. They were, on extraordinary occasions, employed in the army; and they seldom disturbed the State by insurrections. This class was intermediate to the citizen and the *helot*. The *helots*, as their name indicates, were captives in war, and, like the *Soudra* in India, and the *Gibeonites* in Palestine, were reserved as slaves for the ruling classes. Some were employed for the community, and others were allotted to individuals; but any citizen might employ the services of the *helot*. The object of the institutions of *Lycurgus* was to establish a community on a firm basis. There was no concession to the spirit of change, or progress, no dynamic quality in the constitution he ordained. He divided the lands among the citizens, and his arrangements tended to supply the constant number of 9000 citizens to the State. The *helots* were attached to the soil. They could not be enfranchised by their masters, nor sold beyond the limits of the State. His tribute was fixed by law and exacted with rigor. The treatment of the *helot* was harsh. His dress was directed by law, and was coarse and uncomfortable. Chastisements were inflicted, once a year, to remind them of the ignominy of their condition. They were forbidden to join in the martial dances, or to sing the manly songs of the *Dorians*; and they were forced to brutalize themselves by intemperance that they might disgust the Spartan youth with the habit,—by their obscene songs and staggering movements. The Spartans were greatly inferior, in manners, to either of the classes we have mentioned, who constituted the mass of the population of *Laconia*. “You come from cities,” says *Brasides* to his followers, “where the smaller number commands the larger, and their authority is due to their courage.” The Spartan population is estimated to have been 31,000, while that of the intermediate class was 120,000 and the *helots* numbered 220,000.

The frame of society established in *Laconia*, was a type of those erected in all the *Dorian* communities. In the cities of *Crete* there existed the ruling class, who ful-

filled the functions of government and command, and the conquered class, attached to the soil, and performing the ruder labors of society. The conquered class were not in Crete, as in Sparta, slaves of the community. They were held as private property, and were attached to the soil by fixed services. There was still another class of slaves, not belonging to the conquered races, but who were derived from commerce. These were held as personal property, and were employed in no stated services. Our limits do not allow us to cite, in detail, the different forms of servitude recognised in the Grecian communities. We may state, in general, that the varieties of tenure were very great, descending from a small tribute, extracted from a dependent community—through the various forms of tribute from each person and each parcel of land—and descending from fixed and honorable personal service through various forms of service menial and base, until they reached the one most general—viz: that of personal slavery, in which the will of the master was the law to the slave. We think the varieties under which slavery has appeared among States, is a fact of importance in an inquiry into the value of the institution. We have noticed that in the Southern States, the general opinion is that the institution can exist in but one form; that great impatience is expressed at any attempt to depart from the absolute and rigid regulations adopted in colonial times; that no toleration of any opinion or of any practice is manifested which implies the least doubt of the perfection of the model which we have established. Our object in pursuing these investigations has been to direct the attention of our people, in a broad and liberal spirit of inquiry, to a thorough investigation of the nature of our institutions, and to the melioration of this institution in whatever manner experience has shown it to be practicable.

Slavery, at Athens, Samos, Chio, Ephesus, and the commercial States on the Archipelago, was of a personal character. Slaves were supplied by commerce and war;—war affording to commerce the means of its support. The slave markets of those cities were continually open and auctions of slaves occurred at stated intervals. Asia-Minor, Phrygia, Thrace, Thessaly, even Egypt and Ethiopia, afforded the materials of the market. In Athens, the paternal power to expose and sell children was curtailed; in the remaining States of Greece it was frequently prac-

tised. Misery sometimes reduced a man to the necessity of selling himself; and, until the laws of Solon provided otherwise, the debtor could be sold at the suit of his creditor. Upon slaves was devolved the domestic offices of the household, the cultivation of the fields, and labor in the mines. Sometimes they had the charge and government of the children, and conducted commercial and mechanical operations for their masters. In the aristocratic States, work was habitually depreciated. All labor was held to be dishonoring to the freeman,—hence, all was performed by slaves. In the democratic and commercial States, field-work rested under the same disparaging sentiment. In the city, mechanical and commercial pursuits were the sources of wealth and of consideration. These were followed without degradation. Slaves were soon introduced to them, and became formidable competitors with the free laborer. The master workmen found it more profitable to purchase his assistants, than to hire them. Much erudition has been displayed in ascertaining the prices and numbers of the slaves of the different Grecian States. The price fixed by modern writers for slaves of labor, from the Peloponesian war and the times of Alexander, are from thirty to fifty dollars, and, for artisans, from sixty to eighty. Slaves of intelligence, skill, or any peculiar quality, were sold at prices varying from one hundred to five hundred dollars. The number of slaves at Athens, they suppose to be four or five times that of the free population. The slave, at Athens, in the estimation of the laws, was regarded as a chattel. He was without a family or property, and was the subject of sale, gift or devise. The rigor of the laws was softened by the customs of society. The union of slaves was promoted by their masters, and Plautus says,

“*Majore que opera ibi servileis nuptiæ
Quam liberaleis etiam curaria salent.*”

The customs of society recognized a right to a *peculium*. The works of slaves varied with their dispositions and characters. The most intractable and rebellious were sent to the harshest labors,—to the mines or the mill;—the most skilful were employed in professions and trades. The power of life and death was withheld, and the privilege of the asylum was granted to slaves who had been cruelly treated by their masters. The slave at Athens

might redeem himself, and might be enfranchised by his master. The act of emancipation was subject to certain forms, and, when completed, placed the slave in a subordinate condition in the State. He was vested with civil rights, but subject to the payment of an annual tax, and deprived of political privileges.

We have dwelt at some length upon the subject of slavery in Greece, because we find in those States slavery to have been compatible with the highest art and the most expanded civilization. Slavery was not only admitted, as a fact, but maintained as a right—as the *only* right and proper basis of society. Aristotle and Plato—the stoic, epicurean and academic—severally taught the necessity of slavery, as an institution of the State. The ground of these opinions is found in the circumstances of Grecian society. Their social organizations were framed with reference to a state of war. The ruling orders of those States were conquerors, with an enemy on the soil, and were continually exposed to invasions from without. Military ideas, and the thirst for rule, were maintained by the constant presence of enemies. War was the habitual condition of their foreign relations. The citizen, on whom the State was dependant, for counsel at home and military service abroad, was necessarily withdrawn from the cares of his fortune and of provision for his family. The formation of classes, on whom could be devolved the burden of supplying the material wants of the society was essential to its existence.

Slavery existed in the great theocracies of the East, because of the vast differences in the social conditions of the people. The ruling classes believed themselves to be as gods among men, and, by their order and primogeniture, entitled to service from the degraded masses who were below them, and on whom they condescended to bestow their providential care. We find no such lofty ideas of pre-eminence among the Grecian States, though pre-eminence existed and was proudly claimed. Religion, however, among them, appears to have entered into the bond between the master and slave. The polytheistic institutions furnished gods, as well for the masters as the slaves. The number of the gods, and the variety of their functions, destroyed all unity of ideas on religion. The division of the gods led to the division of the priestly classes, and weakened their tone and influence. The

most important and interesting feature in the intellectual system of Athens, was the formation of the class of philosophers and teachers, as a separate profession, in the State. These searchers for wisdom embody, in their writings, the general ideas that existed in, and controlled the society. They agree that the constitution of a State should be framed to meet the exigencies of war. Wars were followed by conquests, and conquests by captives and slaves.

In the October number of this Review, for 1848, we examined, at some length, slavery as it existed among the Romans. We found the institution growing with the growth and expanding with the conquests of the republic. We found the cities swollen with captives from the opposite extremities of the earth, who were made to minister to the wants, tastes, pleasures, vices and crimes of the Roman citizen and people. We saw the slave yoked with oxen, on the farms, and chained to the gates of the Roman senator. We examined his condition, under the customs, laws and philosophy of the people. In all, he was deemed to be a thing subject to the dominion of his master—to be appropriated to serve his whims or his interests;—by the laws, he could be sold or given away; was without standing in the courts, or recognition in the assemblies of the people. This condition of things was gradually modified, during the existence of the empire. The cruelty of masters was prevented, and their power over the life of the slave was taken away. Acts of manumission, which were at first obstructed, were ultimately encouraged. The enslavement of Christians by Jews was forbidden; and interpretations of law, in favour of liberty, were habitual, and became a rule. The right to the *peculium* was, in a manner, recognized, and public marriages of slaves in churches were allowed.

The civil condition of the empire greatly co-operated in effecting a change in the social relations of the people. The Roman republic realized the great ideas of the Greeks. It established the superiority of the West over the East, and consolidated, under one rule and one empire, the conflicting and hostile States, both of the East and West. It opened to each communications with every other State. It gave some degree of order and security to the intercourse of mankind. Society, under its government, attained permanence; and the law of mutual

kindness and good will took some root in the thoughts of men. As an incident to this success, was the overthrow of the palytheism of the empire. To establish an empire, there must be a community of ideas upon the most important subjects of human inquiry. Religion derives its name from its quality of binding men to the Almighty and to each other.

A national religion, which should bind the faith and consciences of men, under the same rule, was indispensable to the Roman empire. A second consequence of the success of the republic, was a change in the ruling ideas of society. War ceased to be the end of society; wars of conquest were no longer compatible with the interests or wishes of the Roman people. The God Terminus, was satisfied with the limits of the empire. Wars, therefore, became defensive. The policy of the empire was to fix the populations upon their existing seats.

Under these conditions, the great apostle of christianity appeared among the Gentile nations, proclaiming—"one God, one faith, one baptism,—one God and father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all,"—"and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." This God, he told them, "*hath made of one blood*, all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation: that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from every one of us: For in him we live, and move, and have our being."

These doctrines embodied the ideas needful for the consolidation of the empire, rapidly worked their way into the opinions of men, and remodeled the forms of society. These doctrines concurred in promoting unity of worship and the spirit of peace and brotherly alliance. They softened the rigors of the relation of master and slave, and were instrumental in facilitating acts of emancipation, and new arrangements between the parties to that relation. We found, in the fifth century of the christian era, that the rural slaves had become attached to the soil; that the master was not permitted to sell persons of that class apart from the soil; that the slave acquitted himself of the claim to service by the payment of certain sums, either in money or products; and that the slave's domestic relations were placed under the protection of law. At

what time, or under what influences, these changes were wrought, in the condition of the slaves of the country, is left in doubt. We supposed them to have followed the softening influences of christian ideas, and to have resulted from the political condition of the empire.

The number of slaves was greatly diminished in consequence of the cessation of successful wars. The lands of the western portions of Europe had become impoverished. The cost of cultivation was scarcely compensated by the production. In the absence, then, of prohibitory laws, the grant of an interest to the slave, in the products of his labor, would be a natural result.

We have seen that such arrangements were usual in Greece, and were probably at all times common in Rome. The effect of the legislation of the empire was, to give stability to these arrangements, and to establish, as a class, the cultivators of the soil, who had hitherto maintained their positions simply under contracts. Slavery, at this time, existed by law; the slave was subject to all the consequences of the relation; still, the number of slaves had greatly diminished, and the institution itself was *near* its termination. Justinian, in his codes, recognizes the right of a person to dispose of his liberty in certain cases. Leo, in the 9th century, abolishes the right. Jews were forbidden to purchase or to hold christians in slavery, and the loss of property was the penalty for its violation. Emancipation was granted sometimes as a reward for public services; the employment of slaves in some branches of service, was equivalent to an act of enfranchisement; and slaves, by some decrees, were commanded to accept of freedom.

The legislation of the eastern empire has been reserved to us. It is noticed that, in the collections which followed that made by Justinian, the words which had distinguished the different classes of laborers, seem to have lost their signification. The slave, the colon and the laborer on wages, are described by the same words.

The most material change that is indicated by these codes, consists in the alteration of the laws of war. The christian captive was no longer a subject for slavery. Even heretics, who were exposed to every persecution, and much punishment, were not offered for sale. The Manichean and Paulicier schismatics were transported to the frontiers to confront their invaders, but were exempt

from slavery. On the other hand, pagans were still reduced to servitude. In the same codes an aversion is expressed for taking the lives of christians as a punishment for crimes. Mutilation, deportation, the forfeiture of property, were the punishments for atrocious offences. Thus, by an alteration of the laws, through which slavery was supplied, and under the influence of opinion, slavery gradually disappeared from the empire. We find, in a decree of Manual Comnenus, an acknowledgment of the title of all to freedom. "*Ad ultimum si que onere servitutis pressi,*" is his language, "*eo si eximen vellent tonquam fugitivos comprehendentes, eorum audaciam pœnis coercebant. Hanc igitur consuetudinem radicitus, a medici civitate extirpore volens imperator, promulgatis edictis, qualis a natura concessa est omnibus donavit. Liberis enim Romanis, non mancipiis imperitore cupiebat.*"

The steady and silent operation of principles and habits, which effected the eradication of personal slavery from the eastern empire, received great disturbance in the west by the Germanic invasions. The northern hordes who overturned the empire, were savage in their habits and heathen in their religion. War was the principal object and business of their lives, and slavery was recognized in their opinions and laws as a legitimate relation. The settlement of these hordes in Europe, exhibits the same series of facts as were found in the location of the wandering tribes of Asia upon permanent abodes.

The sea was avoided, because settlers in such situations are exposed to piratical incursions. Mediterranean locations, the steepes of mountains, or the depths of the forest, were preferred, as most susceptible of defence. Before these tribes could be reconciled to any stationary residence, their habits required a change. Religion, with them, as with the tribes of Asia, prepared these rude materials for civil society. The members of the christian church were unwearied in their labors among them. They taught them agriculture, imbued them with the fear of God, and led them to look for his interposition in human affairs. The fear of invisible power is instinctive with the savage mind. The clergy taught these tribes that the power they feared was an omnipresent deity, who rewarded good, and exposed and punished evil. The judicial combat, canonical purgations, the appeal to God in the duel, the denunciations of war by the heralds, are

evidences of the profound impressions these lessons made. The christian clergy, at the date of these invasions, belonged to the *conquered* race.

In the decomposition of the Roman empire, this class alone preserved any vitality. We find them standing between the citizens and the imperial officers, before the overturn of the imperial authority. After the fall of the empire, they were the bulwarks of the ancient inhabitants. The first claim upon the converted savages was for the sanctity of the asylum. Certain places were consecrated ground, upon which the barbarian conqueror might not enter. Pope Gregory the Great, in the 6th century, orders that slaves who had taken refuge in the asylum, should be delivered to their masters, but that the ecclesiastical authority should intervene, as a mediator, between the master and his slave. If the slave was free from blame, and had just grounds of complaint, he should go forth *cum congrua ordinatione*. If the slave had committed slight faults, the master should be sworn to pardon him, and then he should be surrendered. The same Pope required the priests to be active, that the children of emancipated slaves should not be held in slavery. The broad principles of the Roman See will be found in an act of emancipation, executed by Gregory himself. He says, "As our Redeemer, author of all being, took upon himself the human form, to break, by the grace of his divinity, the bonds which held us, and to restore our ancient liberty, it is suitable and proper that those whom nature made free, and that human law has submitted to servitude, shall be restored to the benefits of freedom, by an act of enfranchisement." He therefore emancipates two slaves belonging to him.

It is apparent, that any revolution in society, such as a general emancipation of slaves would effect, must be preceded by the introduction to them of the laws of the family. They must learn the performance of civil duties, and imbibe notions of the civil responsibilities of the domestic relations. Hence, in every inquiry concerning slaves, the structure of the family relation is of importance. We have seen that, in the legislation of the empire, slaves were permitted to celebrate marriages in the face of the church. The church pronounced these marriages sacred. It denounced penalties against those who separated the parties, and, in the laws

of Charlemagne, of the Visigoths, and in Germany, provisions are found for the division of the offspring among the proprietors of their parents.

We find no other special acts of interference of the church, though we shall see abundant evidence of the influence of its members in the duration of slavery. We ought, however, to state, that the same melioration of the laws of war, in favor of christian captives, took place in the west as in the east. Clovis, Charlemagne, and Henry the Fowler, sold their pagan captives into slavery, or distributed them as serfs. Pope Alexander III. prohibited the slavery of christians. The Salic, Bavarian, Ripuarian and Burgundian laws, declare the contracts made by slaves void, and their testimony in courts was refused. The intermarriages of free persons with slaves were prohibited, and the offspring generally followed the state of the mother.

Acts of emancipation were allowed without restriction. The diminution of slaves was more rapid on the continent than in maritime states. Slavery, in these, was recruited with more facility. During the times of the Hephtharchy, slaves were publicly sold in Great Britain. Alfred the Great limited the authority of the father, to sell his child, for a longer period than seven years. Etheldred forbade the sale of christians to foreigners. Edward the Confessor declared, that whoever should sell a christian to a pagan, was not worthy to live with christians, till he had redeemed him, and if he had no money, he should take his place. William, of Malmsbury, says that Wulston, Bishop of Worcester, came every year to Bristol, to preach against the slave trade, which was carried on from that port, and that he induced many merchants to renounce the traffic. He died in 1095. The Irish Bishops at Armagh, in 1170, declared that the evils from which Ireland suffered, were a just punishment for its sins, for that they had, for a long period, purchased, as bond-slaves, English, who had been sold by merchants. The English, they say, for a long period, had been accustomed to sell their children and kinsmen into slavery to the Irish, but that, in a traffic so odious, the purchasers, as well as buyers, merit the divine wrath and the chains of slavery. They, therefore, ordered the English slaves to be set at liberty throughout the island. At the date of the

Norman conquest, a census of the rural population of England was taken, and is preserved in Domesday's Book.

There were—

Sochemanni,	23,072	Porcarii,	427
Dimidii Sochemonni,	18	Bovarii,	749
Bordorii,	82,119	Villani,	108,407
Bordorii paupers,	490	Servi,	25,155
Catorii,	5,054	Ancilla,	467
Censorii,	159	—————	—————

The three classes last mentioned, indicate those in a servile condition. In Italy and Spain, slavery was not exposed to the same active influences which occasioned its disappearance from France and Germany, at an early day, and more remotely in Great Britain. Those nations were brought into direct contact with heathen nations, in consequence of the occupancy of their coasts by the Saracens. The revival of commerce, in the commercial cities of Venice, Amalfi, Genoa and Barcelona, created a demand for slaves for domestic service. In the ports of those states where the feudal system was established, personal slavery was abolished; but, in the greater portion of each, personal slavery terminated long after its abolition in the west of Europe. In Venice, the slave trade was carried on in the ninth century. In 944, A.D., a decree of the Doge attributes the misfortune which had befallen the Venetian arms, to the neglect of the laws which forbade the sale of christians to infidels. The Councils of Celestine, in 1294, revives the laws which prohibited jews from holding christians in slavery or from purchasing an infidel, lest he should prevent his conversion to christianity.

He records that free persons might become slaves in *three* cases. The offspring of a priest, who shall marry a free woman, became slaves of the church, on account of the father's sin. Those who furnished aid to the infidels might be enslaved by any one; and the freeman who shared in the purchase money, paid in a fraudulent sale of his own person, was estopped from denying his *status* as a slave. In Spain, during the 8th century, slavery existed under the forms in which the Roman codes defined it. Slaves were regarded as chattels. Enfranchisements of slaves were encouraged by the church, and that of serfs discountenanced. The necessities of the kingdom, occasioned

by the Saracen invasions, greatly multiplied the acts of emancipation. Masters were required to appear in arms with a certain number of their slaves; this was equivalent to an act of emancipation. In the collection of private conveyances, from the 9th to the 11th centuries, the names of slaves are frequently found. They were transferred by gift, sale, or as bequests.

The introduction of the feudal system, marks the change which had taken place in the relations of the different classes of society. The glimpses which we have been able to attain at the condition of society from the 6th to the 10th centuries, show that no distinct organization had been adopted. The different tribes were slowly learning the rudiments of social order. The relation of master and slave existed, but we may suppose that, practically, the difference between the different parties to the relation was not very great. Agriculture was but little followed; commerce had scarcely an existence. The wants of the masters and slaves were few, and easily supplied. We can readily understand that masters would be accessible to the importunities of the clergy, to emancipate their slaves. At a very early day in the history of the church, the redemption of christians from bondage, became a holy and meritorious charity. Saints Bathilde, Genevieve, Eloi and Berchoine, are distinguished for their labors of this kind. Strong exhortations were addressed to Charlemagne, by members of the clergy, in favor of the liberation of his slaves; and Turner and Lingood, cites instances of a similar interference of the clergy of Great Britain. The language of the acts of emancipation discloses the interference of the church. These acts are usually in Latin, and purport to be executed *in nomine dei pro amore dei : pro salute or mercede animæ meæ.*

In periods of calamity, such as of pestilence or famine, these acts were greatly increased. The Irish and Venetian authorities, we have seen, attributed the distresses of their nations to the support of a traffic in christians. During the terrible invasions of the Slavonic nations, and in consequence of the terror and suffering they occasioned, the opinion became prevalent that the world approached its final end. The year 1000 was fixed as the date of its termination. The acts of emancipation which precede that year, profess to be made in contemplation of *mundi termina appro pinquante.*

The panic, awakened by these impressions, was greatly aggravated by a succession of years of pestilence and famine; frightful consequences of the disorders of society. In France, ten distinct periods of famine, and thirteen of pestilence, are mentioned. In the 11th century, they were still more numerous and disastrous. In 1003, a famine commenced and lasted five years. In 1031, so great was the distress, that human flesh was exposed for sale in the market. In 1035, one famine is mentioned, that lasted seven years, and nine in number are noticed, between that year and the year 1200. Society must have undergone entire depopulation under the pressure of such evils. The bonds which connected the various orders of the state could hardly have been preserved during these trying times. The universality of the misery must have gone far to reduce, to terms of equality, men in all ranks and conditions. The 10th century marks the appearance of the feudal system in vigorous operation throughout Europe. We suppose this system gradually grew out of the necessities of the states in which it was adopted. The central authority being incapable of defending the kingdoms, the local authorities undertook their own protection. Men of courage and strength occupied stations susceptible of defence, and gathered about them those who sought security from violence. The circumstances in which they were placed, determined their relations to each other. These relations, at first conventional, by time, and the influence of custom, became permanent.

The necessities of this community determined the positions of the various parties to these relations. The strong and courageous were selected to render military service, while the more feeble would be employed to cultivate the land, or to attend the household. The formation of this military system in the state, produced, at once, a classification of the inhabitants. The inevitable result of the system was to limit greatly the number of slaves, and to increase the number of retainers and vassals. The difference between these military communities, and those of Greece and Rome, was that the former were organized for defence; wars of invasion and conquest were unsuited to the feudal system. Its power consisted in the efficiency of its arrangements for the defence of the state against the rapid invasions of the warlike tribes of the north of Europe.

Slavery made no additions to its numbers under this system. On the contrary, the slaves on the soil were generally changed into serfs during its existence. The predatory wars that one feudal chief carried on with another, produced no consequences of this kind. The christian, who was not in the condition of a slave, could not be reduced to that condition. The only conquests that one could make of another was of lands, and of the vassals who were appurtenant to the soil.

The church was eminently influential in maintaining the permanency of the relation between the inferior classes and the soil. Upon the lands of the church (which comprised an important portion of every state) the slaves were generally emancipated. The church converted their slaves into serfs, and in that condition they were suffered to remain. Villenage existed for a longer period on the lands of the church, than in the lands of the barons. The tendency of priestly rule has been to divide men into *castes* wherever it has prevailed, and, by this means, to create impassible barriers between the different orders. This tendency was manifested during the middle ages. While we agree that the influence of the church was predominant in the abolition of personal slavery, it was scarcely felt in the distinction of the baronial rule. The decay of the feudal system resulted from the removal of the causes which led to its introduction. The system was a mode of defence, which the necessities of society originated. When the exigency had passed, the system lost its force and value.

Hence we see, after the cessation of invasions from the northern parts of Europe, the tendency of all the internal movements of society, was to strengthen the central authorities, and to diminish those that were local. A variety of circumstances contributed to the accomplishment of these objects. The great movement of the crusades was a leading war in this direction. Many of the great vassals of the west of Europe, and their barons, were cut off or impoverished by these distant enterprises. The serfs, and inferior proprietors of the different provinces, who had lived in dependence upon these powerful feudatories, were compelled, in their absence, to form communes for mutual support and defence. Many of the great fiefs which had enabled their lords to withstand the central authority, were reunited to the crown. Thus, the numbers and powers of the barons were diminished, and antago-

nistic authorities were located in the midst of their possessions. For it appears, clearly, that the communes were soon recognized and protected by the central power. In most of the charters granted in the 11th century, the freedom of the commune is given to any one who should become an inhabitant for a short period. These charters invite persons to fix their residence in the city. In Germany, some of these constituted asylums, to which the bondsmen might flee for liberty. Freedom was granted to the fugitive slave who might escape to the city of Bremen. This was in 1186. In 1230, a more limited privilege was granted to the cities of Ratisbon and Vienna. In the 13th century, the league of free cities in Germany was formed. These cities refused to surrender fugitives within their walls. About the same time *pollaciones* and *Fuero's* were formed in Spain. These were formed with the view of affording defences against the Saracens, and serfs and slaves were specially invited to join them. They became so numerous and powerful, that, within a century, we find them associating in the general assemblies of the different kingdoms of Spain, and taking part in the legislation of those kingdoms.

The charters granted in the kingdom of France, during the same period, disclose a corresponding interest in the maintenance of the powers and privileges of the cities, against the seignoral authority of the barons.*

We shall now proceed to state the facts that will indicate the progress of abolition. The records of private transactions in France, have been examined with great diligence to ascertain this fact. The assizes of Jerusalem, a code established for Syria, after the capture of the holy city, and which embodies the customs of France in the 11th century—contains regulations for the government of hired servants. The servant who receives a blow at the hands of his master, was not authorised to complain, but if wounded, an action is secured to him. The sermons of St. Bernard and Humbert, contain recognitions of this class, and there is a sermon of the latter preserved, specially directed to them. In the collection of private conveyances by Perard, there are 62 dated before the year 1000, which embrace slaves; in the 12th century, there

* The charters of Orleans and Sens are similar to those of Bremen, and the customs of Toulouse were to the same effect.

are but seven, and in the 13th, only *one*. Of the seven, in the 12th century, six embrace lands as well as slaves; and the other is a donation of a woman and her children to a monastery. The language of the acts in which lands are included, are in Latin, and the land is conveyed "*et ejus habitores*," or "*cum pertinentiis*," or "*cum appenditiis*." In the southern portions of France, we have to ascend to the 11th century to find the term slave in the conveyances.

Louis VI. granted to the serfs of the churches of Paris and Chartres the privilege of giving testimony in courts. This privilege was subsequently extended to the serfs of other provinces. The internal wars by which France was desolated, fell, with the utmost severity, upon the inferior classes. Froissart, who wrote in the 14th century, affords very striking evidence of the heartless and wanton indifference with which they were subjected to the most cruel oppressions. St. Louis forbids any interference with people of this description, by those engaged in war. Philip the Handsome renews, on two occasions, the inhibition. Louis X., 1315, promulgated a decree for the emancipation of the serfs on the royal domains.* The latest case, found in the public or private records of France, of emancipation, bears date in 1367. It occurs in the will of the Viscountess Narbonne, and is as follows: "*Volumus quod quædon mulier serva sive sclava nostra vocata marcha sit et libera et quittia atque franci post mortem nostram*." A bill of sale has been found in the registers of Marseilles, dated in 1358, for a female slave, aged 28 years, for the sum of sixty Florence florins. The law writers of the present day, declare that it is an ancient maxim of the French law, that a slave became free upon treading the soil of France. "*Si quidem servi peregrini ut primum galliæ fines penetraverunt eodem momento liberi fiunt*."

The western portions of Germany were exposed to the same influences with France. Calmet, in his work on Lorraine, recognizes the existence of slavery in the 11th and 12th centuries. He says that slaves could not testify nor become parties to suits in courts of justice, nor dispose of their children. Their bodies belong to their lords, who

* The act declares "that by the law of nature, all were born free, and as the kingdom was called by the name of Franks, (free,) the fact should be according to the name.

could alien them in life, and dispose of them by their last will. He cites twenty deeds, dated in the 11th century, in which persons are disposed of by the terms '*servi famuli moncipia*.' The number is less in the 12th and in the 13th. *Moncipia* is not found in any private conveyance. The writers on this subject in Germany, assign the middle of the 13th century as the final term in which personal slavery existed. In Great Britain, we have seen that slavery existed at the date of the Norman invasion. More than half the rural population was composed of villiens and "servi"—slaves. Littleton notices the existence of villiens, who were transferable apart from the lands. The speech of John Ball, contained in Froissart, made in the time of Jack Cade's rebellion, very clearly shows the condition of the lower orders.

"My good friends," says the preacher, "things cannot go on well in England, nor ever will, until every thing shall be in common; when there shall neither be vassal nor lord, and all distinctions levelled; when the lords shall be no more masters than ourselves. Are we not all descended from the same parents?—Adam and Eve? And what reason can they show why they should be more masters than ourselves? Except, perhaps, in making us labor and work for them to spend. They are clothed in velvets and rich stuffs, and ornamented with ermine and other furs, while we are forced to wear poor cloth. They have wines, spices and fine bread, when we have only rye and the refuse of straw: and if we drink, it must be of water."

At this time, Richard II. proposed to adopt measures for the general emancipation of the serfs; to which the parliament gave the unanimous reply—

"That no man could deprive them of the services of their villiens, without their consent; but that they had never given their consent, and never would be induced to give it, either through persuasion or violence."

The century which followed this was marked by disorder and war. In the wars between the York and Lancasterian houses, the rule of the barons were completely subverted, and the feudal system undermined. The study of the civil and canonical laws led to the introduction of uses and trusts, and to the evasion of the consequences of feudal tenure. During this century, the boon which was unanimously refused to the lower orders,

was silently and rapidly communicated. The last case in the English law books, involving a claim for a villien, is in the reign of Henry VIII. The last conveyance in which the fate of bondsmen were involved, is an act of emancipation executed by Queen Elizabeth, in favor of certain slaves of her own.

In Spain and Italy, the same general causes we have noticed, assisted to occasion a diminution of the number of the slave population. These causes, however, were checked in their operation, by their contact with hostile populations of an opposite religion. We find in the 11th and 12th centuries, that private transactions indicate much more the presence of a serf than of a slave population. The law 1, title 29, of the *partidos*, forbids the reduction of christian prisoners to slavery, but allows the slavery of infidels. The penalty of slavery is denounced against those who should aid the infidels, or should serve in their armies. In other particulars, the Spanish compilations do not alter the Roman laws as to slavery. The slave is not allowed to hold property, make contracts, and is transferable at the will of the master. He was allowed to contract marriages, but the children inherited the state of the mother. The slave was protected against the master's cruelty, and could force him to dispose of him. The date of these compilations is the 13th century. In the early portions of the 15th century, negroes were introduced into Spain and Portugal. The earliest instances particularly mentioned, occur in the year 1440. An old chronicler, an eye witness, affords the following account of what is termed by some the first day of the African slave trade:

"It was on the 8th August, 1444, early in the morning," he says, "in consequence of the heat of the weather, that the sailors commenced to discharge their vessels, and to land their captives at the place designated for them. They were assembled in a sort of camp, and it was a wonderful spectacle indeed. There were among them some nearly white, well made and handsome: others yellow, and others very black. They differed as much in their clothing as in their color; and it seemed to the men who had the charge of them, that they were creatures from the lower regions. But what heart so hard, as not to feel sentiments of pity, at the sight of such a multitude! Some had their heads sunken and their faces washed by tears, as they looked at each other; others groaned piteously, as, lifting their eyes to heaven, they seemed to implore relief from thence. Others struck their breasts and flung themselves in

agony on the ground. Others expressed their grief in low melancholy wails, according to the custom of their country; and though we did not understand their words, they fully expressed to us the depth of their woe. While their lamentations went on increasing, those came who had the charge of dividing them into lots. In doing this, it became necessary to separate children from parents, husbands from wives, and brothers from sisters. O, powerful fortune! employed continually in turning thy wheel, and diversifying the conditions of humanity in this world as it pleases thee, place before the eyes of these miserable creatures views of a better fate, that they may have consolation in their extreme misery; and you, who have charge of them, have pity on their miserable condition. See how they are attached to each other."

A chronicler of Spain, says:

"In 1474, that for many years, ships had sailed from ports of Andalusia, and cruised along the coasts of Africa and Guinea, from whence they brought negro slaves, who abounded in Seville."

In 1501, Ferdinand and Isabella excepted, in a decree expelling the Moors, "those marked with the iron." This designated the slaves. An ordinance of Philip II. 1558, provides for the expulsion of Jewish slaves, and slaves who had recently become christians. An ordinance of 1626, requires all slaves to embrace christianity. In 1712, Philip V. expelled from the kingdom all Moors, except slaves, who were suffered to remain from regard to their master's title.

In Italy, we have remarked, that slavery was perpetuated longer than elsewhere on the continent. In the commercial cities, slaves were employed in domestic and menial services. The will of Marco Polo, 1323, contains a clause of emancipation in favor of slaves. In 1378, a capitation tax on slaves was levied in the Venetian States. In 1446, a law was passed forbidding sales to the Dalmatians, because they sent them for sale among the infidels. In 1463, the city of Trieste surrendered fugitive slaves to the Venetians. These latest notices show at what period slavery terminated its reign in the west of Europe.

The origin of slavery will be found, from what we have stated, in the social condition of a people, emerging from their native and primitive state, and laying the foundations of an organized and settled community.

In the earlier ages of mankind, ages of violence and insecurity, of unbounded and uninquiring religious faith,

when, to the ardent imaginations of the infant community, the objects of nature were endued with life and volition,—when the gods formed a political community with distributions of rank, and contentions for power : when every act of the individual man, indicative of force or strength, formed the subject of an apotheosis—that vast disparity in the estimate of persons which lies at the foundation of the servile relation, sprung up as a matter of course. Slavery arose in the organization of the family : it was the punishment for crime and impiety ; it fell as a curse upon races and the posterity of individuals. It followed as a consequence in wars. Slavery was esteemed a divine sentence and visitation. Its existence was the indication and proof of the desertion, by their gods, of the families, races and nations, who were subject to it. Service was the legitimate and appropriate tribute rendered by those whom the gods declared to be inferior to other races. The notion which we have traced in the institutes of Menu, and the biography of Joshua, will be found in the political writings of Aristotle. Slavery, with all of them, rested upon the fundamental and radical differences which existed by nature between the races of mankind. It would not be difficult to show, that such was the opinion upon which slavery was organized in the Roman commonwealth. The power of life and death over the slave, existed until the second century of the christian era. This power of life and death was not a merely savage and brutal sentiment. It was founded upon the rooted conviction, that the conqueror was favoured of the gods, and the vanquished deserted by them. The *Lares* of the captive were supposed to have forsaken the roof of him whose enemy had subdued him. By the Roman laws, the captive was under a permanent disability ; and it was only in later ages of the commonwealth that, according to a legal fiction, its effect was obviated. The political notion that slavery was the result, simply, of municipal laws, found in the institutes of Justinian, is one of a late date. The power of reducing a captive to slavery, originated in the same religious sentiment which authorised the power of life and death. The pecuniary advantage was secondary, and did not enter into the principle on which it rested. After the abrogation of the power of life and death over the captive, and the introduction of the belief in the existence of a single God, who cared for all the human

family alike, political reasons became necessary for institutions which, before that time, had religious support. The *partidos* of Spain furnish the following account of the origin of slavery:

"The term slave, (*siervo*,) comes from the Latin word *servare*, which, in common speech, means to keep or preserve. And such keeping or preserving, was established by the emperors: for, anciently, all who were taken captives were put to death. But the emperors found it best that they should not be put to death, but preserved and made use of."

It is obvious, that this account is but partially accurate, since the power of life and death over the captive, co-existed with the right to reduce him to slavery before the time of the Emperor Adrian. It was in the time of this Emperor, that the master was prohibited from destroying his slave. The same religious notion, as we have seen, continued after the spread of christianity. The christian made a radical difference between his condition and that of the heathen. He regarded himself as the "heir of salvation," while the infidel was under the dominion of Satan, and condemned to everlasting punishment. Christianity did not, therefore, interpose barriers to the subjugation of captives in war, provided they were infidels. The fact, however, was as we have stated:—Wars became defensive, and the supplies to slavery diminished. The disturbed condition of the Roman empire, and the terrible scourge of an extravagant and profuse government, upon the exhausted condition of the state, led to a rapid change in the relations of the inhabitants. *The central government was compelled to have subjects of taxation.* It chained to determined places on the soil, by penal enactments, of the sternest character, the servile population, in order that the exchequer of the state should be supplied. It established certain tributes to be paid, and enforced the collection of these, by ranging the population in certain positions, as well as locations, in order that they might be gathered. The positions of honor were most anxiously avoided by the impoverished proprietors, and ignominy and degradation were sought, as shelters from the exactions of the fisc. *We may conceive of this state of things as occurring in this country.*

The mandate has gone forth, that slavery must be confined to its existing limits; and that it is to be the object

of unrelenting agitation and incessant warfare. Suppose the States or Federal Government should severally prohibit the further removal of slaves from one State to another. Slavery would then have its distinct localities. Suppose in the State of Virginia, or North-Carolina, that counties or plantations should constitute the boundaries out of which slaves should not pass. We might very well imagine a period when the taxes could not be paid by the impoverished proprietors. *We have found repeatedly in abolition pamphlets and publications this system of operations deliberately recommended, that free soil should be conquered from county to county, and from State to State.*

The change, then, in Europe, was wrought by the changes in the social conditions of the population, concurring with the change of religious ideas. The European population ceased to be infidel; the supplies of slavery were diminished, by the suppression of the wars of conquests and invasion, and slavery itself was not necessary to the commercial necessities of those states. This brings us to the renewal of slavery on the American continent, under circumstances and ideas essentially variant.

The slavery of the African race was certainly justified to the minds of those who projected it, by the religious notions we have suggested. The African might be made a slave, because he was an infidel and a descendant of Ham. The servitude of the African race found its great stimulant in the colonial system, which originated in the 17th and was carried to its culminating point in the 18th century. Slaves were required for the cultivation of the fertile lands of tropical climates, whose productions furnished such an addition to the wealth and enjoyments of Europe. Their employment was the same as in every other State we have mentioned. They performed the heavy and rude labors of the new societies into which they were introduced. The social law for slaves prevails in America as in the ancient states of Asia or Europe, with but few exceptions. The mind of the community has been little directed to amelioration here.

There is, however, a change of the utmost importance which should command undivided attention at the South. This consists in the change of ideas and employments on the part of the masters and dominant classes of society. The priestly and military classes, who formed the privileged *castes* in Asia, and the predominant classes of Europe,

and who, in the "pre-eminence and primogeniture" of birth and profession, felt they were entitled to service, have lost their sway over society. Those ideas of a fundamental and radical difference in the races of men which determine their social positions and duties, have lost their place in the religion of mankind.* The predominant idea of this age is to raise, from their inferior position, *all* classes of society; and to form governments on the recognition, if not of equality among the members, at least that there should exist no fundamental distinctions between them. While the different classes of society, in every state, are approximating the same degree, the dignity attached to particular employments has proportionately diminished. Labor, which constituted the degradation of the slave, is now the mark and characteristic of the freeman. Idleness, ease, luxury, and the pursuit of sensual enjoyments, have become disreputable. Science, literature, policy, arts, professions, all acknowledge a subordination to the commercial ideas of the age, and direct their activity and effort to useful enterprises. Every man is held to contribute his quota of mental or physical labor, to society: The sweat of the body, or mind is exacted from all, as the price of public estimation.

We have seen that slavery has, from the beginning, rested upon the religious ideas of the societies in which it was tolerated, and was in harmony with the opinions and manners of the members that formed them:—We have seen that, in the distribution of the labors of society, those works which befitted a servile class, were held to be inappropriate to those who were legitimately entitled to pre-eminence. The distribution of labor was suitable to society, and its development was secured in consequence of the harmony that existed. The whole society was employed in conformity with their positions in the state.

This brings us to state what we consider to be the great problems constantly presented for the solution of the citizen of our Southern communities. He must habitually maintain his institutions, so that christian ideas shall constantly harmonise with them; and, secondly, he should habitually provide for such a distribution of the labors of society, that every man may share in them, without any

* Those ideas made slavery entirely compatible with the institutions and manners of these states.

degradation, and that all may contribute to its development and progress.

The examination we have made illustrates the difficulty of accomplishing changes in the structure of society. *More than one thousand years, after the principle of decay was planted in the institution of slavery on the continent of Europe, elapsed, before its termination as a legal institution. This examination, in connection with what has been exhibited, in the British West India Islands, should nerve our people to every effort to maintain, without obstruction or interference, their absolute control over this whole subject.*

J. A. C.

ART. II.—CIMON AND PERICLES.

The History of Greece; by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's, (the Rev. CONNOP C. THIRLWALL.) A new edition, revised; with notes. London: Longman & Co.

WE have already expressed in the pages of this Review,* our estimate of the admirable *History of Greece*, by the Bishop of St. David's, and need only now give utterance to our satisfaction at witnessing its successful though tedious progress through another and improved edition. On the present occasion we plead guilty to having placed its title in our rubric with the design of merely employing it as a text for our remarks, and thus avoiding, in some measure, the breach of custom and courtesy, involved in any critical notice of a contemporary article. In heraldic science the blazonry of argent upon, or of metal upon metal, is esteemed false blazonry; and a review upon a review, is held to be equally in contravention of the ordinary rules of procedure. We might say that the article we are about to notice, is an original article, and not even in the form of a review; or we might excuse ourselves by referring to the brevity of our remarks upon it, but as it has in some measure given occasion to this essay, we prefer sheltering ourselves behind the shield of Thirlwall, and using or abusing his name as our legal friends

* No. XXII. Art. I. April, 1847.

do those of the ever ready John Doe and Richard Roe, and we prefer this course more especially, inasmuch as we would make a general reference in support of our reasoning and the accuracy of our conclusions to his History of Greece, which still offers the best acceptable fund of information in regard to the topics of which we are about to treat. Without longer preface or apology, we shall now proceed.

The January number of the *Democratic Review*, for 1849, was enlivened and adorned by an exquisite article on the death of Pericles. It appeared under the form of a letter from one Athenian to another, supposed to be written immediately on the death of the great Olympian, which melancholy event it was intended to communicate. The announcement of the recent public loss, naturally leads to a review of his life and policy, which are unfolded with a grace and beauty, a judgment and eloquence, which have rarely been equalled. Nor can too great admiration be expressed for the happy skill with which the ingenious writer has infused into his narrative and reflections, the spirit of antiquity: and the singular success with which he has preserved the pressure and life-like air of contemporary correspondence. The instinct of poetry and the glow of real genius, radiates throughout this classic and finished performance: but the inferences which are drawn, relative to the motives and public policy of Pericles, are not such as should be suffered to pass wholly without challenge. There is much harshness even in the delicate tact with which his private life is arraigned at the bar of Christianity, and his actions tested by the high standard of Christian morals. The writer's taste was of course too correct to commit such an anachronism as to make any direct allusion, in a letter, purporting to be written by an Athenian of the age of Pericles, to either the principles or the dogmas of Christianity; but he has availed himself, in so dexterous a manner, as not to excite suspicion, of the Christian feelings of his readers; and it is perfectly evident, that by this higher canon he has tried the actions of Pericles, and not by the inferior moral sentiments of heathenism. This is certainly an anachronism in colouring, and it leads to too rigid a criticism of the life of Pericles.

The estimate, too, of his aims and policy, has been warped, we think, from the truth, by too implicit a reli-

ance upon the authority of inferior modern historians. Mitford is too passionate and prejudiced to be safely trusted; but such writers as Rollin and Gillies, who ought to have no weight at all, have been too credulously followed. They drew their statements, without any critical analysis, from the later and garrulous historians of Greece, such as Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, Strabo and Dionysius Halicarnassensis, upon whom, both from their age and their temper, little reliance can be placed. These men, (and we might add Xenophon to the list,) write like rhetoricians, and composed history in the same spirit that the moderns of our day compose romances. The learning, the sagacity, and the critical acumen of Niebuhr first created the true method of historical inquiry: and the signal success of his labours has taught recent investigators to weigh and assay the statements of ancient historians, before receiving them. Thus it has been found that the most valuable and reliable information is to be obtained by a careful collation of the ancient writers with each other, and a comparison of their accounts with the natural development of national phenomena, aided, however largely and principally, by a cautious and critical employment of the fragments of the older historians, preserved in the Scholia. The theory of social and political progress has, by the legitimate application of inductive reasoning, to the various ages and different states of human history, been reduced almost to the perfection of a science by the acute and comprehensive labours of Comte*—an author who, notwithstanding the important objections to be made to the scope of his doctrines, is, beyond all comparison, the greatest of modern philosophers. The other sources of information which we have specified, were almost entirely neglected in the study of Ancient History, until Niebuhr directed attention to them by the happy employment of the remains of Servius and Festus, in the composition of his History of Rome. Now, that their uses are known and appreciated, we would not dispense with the Scholia on Aristophanes and Thucydides, or Ulpian's Scholia on Demosthenes. The consequence of the introduction of these new aids to historical inquiry has been that, while our materials have been increased in quantity, they have been improved in quality: and they are now interpreted by the light of a sagacious and far-

* Cours de Philosophie Positive. Tomes. iv, v, vi.

reaching philosophy, of which the earlier times had little conception.

It should not, however, be concealed, that before Niebuhr, Vico;* and before Vico, Perizonius;† and before Perizonius, Franciscus Balduinus,‡ at once the pupil and precursor of Cujacius, and the indefatigable and judicious commentator on the whole body of the Roman Law; and perhaps even before Balduinus, Henry Glareanus|| had thrown out indications, more or less indistinct, of the possibility and expediency of such a philosophy, which was even anticipated as a science by Giambaltesta Vico. But these suggestions fell upon the arid and barren soil of an age unprepared for their reception; and, in consequence, withered away and were forgotten, without producing fruit, and almost without the chance of germination. It would be wrong to pass by altogether without mention, the influential and more familiar names of Machiavelli and Montesquieu; but the inclusion of Montesquieu would necessitate the inclusion of Aristotle also, to whose politics the *Esprit de Lois* is so deeply indebted, as to assume, in many portions, almost the character of a derivative work. A writer in Blackwood regards Montesquieu as the founder of Historical Philosophy, and so does M. Comte, who joins Condillac with him—but both are in error, as is indicated by the preceding remarks.

Notwithstanding the valuable hints which had been thrown out, the chain of historians, from the times of Glareanus to Niebuhr, continued to write history without any recognition of the novel views which had been presented by the writers we have mentioned. Gibbon, however, forms no link in this chain; for he stands alone, and constitutes a class apart, being equally without a master and without a rival. But ordinary historians, under which category all but himself may be included, continued to draw without discrimination, their best materials from

* *La Scienza Nuova*—a work forgotten till resuscitated by the abridged translation of Michelet.

† Perizonii. *Animadversiones Historicae*.

‡ Fr. Balduinus. *De Inst. Univ. Hist., &c.* See also the dedication of his ‘*Constantinus Magnus*,’ and the Prefatory Remarks to his *Essay on the Voconian Law*. Balduinus is stated to have been the pupil of Cujacius, on the authority of Professor Graves, *Encycl. Metropol. Tit. Law*, and of his epitaph written by his friend and pupil, Passyrius Massonus. He was the predecessor of Cujas in the Law School of Bordeaux, as he himself says. *Comm. in Legg. XII. Tab. c. vi.*

|| In his annotations upon Livy.

the vast but undigested collections of Grævius, Gronovius, Sallengre, Pitiscus, Meureus, Montfaucon and Petit. The passages from the ancient authors huddled together, by these laborious collectors, were all received, without distinction, at nearly the same current value. Facts and fancies, panegyric and satire, contemporary testimony and old women's legends, were all jumbled up together, and the accurate statements of Thucydides were counterbalanced by the galimatias, the niaiseries, and even the friponneries of Xenophon and Plutarch. But as the larger array of facts was recorded in the later chroniclers and antiquaries of Greece, who alone were solicitous, like Macaulay, of giving the tittle-tattle of by-gone ages, their texts afforded the ampler portion of the materials which were used, without critical discretion, and the inferences which were adopted by Rollin, Gillies, *et id genus omne*. The labours of such historians could not be safely accepted as authorities; it became necessary to re-examine the successive ages of antiquity with greater care and discernment than they had applied, and to reconstitute the history of ancient times. This great work has been, to a very considerable extent, and in an admirable manner, accomplished by the persevering industry and wonderful acumen of Niebuhr, Michelet, and Arnold; of Becker and Bunsen; of Hermann, Lobeck, Wachsmuth, Boëckh, Müller, Schloffer, Hoëckh, Fynes, Clinton, Thirlwall, Grote, &c. Much, however, still remains to be done before the history of either Greece or Rome can be regarded as definitely reconstructed.

It is to be regretted that the fine letter of Bulis to Sparties, (these are both Spartan names,)* and its scarcely imitable power of graphic delineation, should have been so far distorted from the true polar direction, by the influence of the inferior historians, who patched together, in a ragged way, the annals of Greece, before they had received the valuable revision of those great scholars whose names we have mentioned. If Bulis had confined himself to the meagre incidents, and simple, but striking characterization of the text of Thucydides, his portrait of Pericles would have been more favourable to the memory of that great man, and, it may be thought, more consonant with justice.

* Herodot. No. vii. c. cxxxiv.

It is partly in consequence of this injustice to the fair fame of Pericles, that this essay has been undertaken. But a much stronger inducement is, that even Thucydides himself, cool, sagacious, large-hearted, impartial and well informed, as he confessedly is, may be suspected of a want of due appreciation of the public measures of Pericles. Little stress should, perhaps, be laid upon the questionable story of the successful forensic conflict of the historian with the statesman;* but Thucydides, as appears from his remarks upon Antiphon, the orator,† and on the Constitution of the Five Thousand,‡ had a decided leaning towards that party in the state which was adverse to the administration and the liberal policy of Pericles. Nor should it be forgotten, that he was himself a member of the rival house of the Cypselidæ, and closely related to Cimon, in whose family vault at Athens, his remains are stated to have been buried.||

The eloquence of Plato,§ and the stinging satire of Aristophanes,¶ and the other princes of the Elder Comedy, who have transmitted only fragmentary remains to our times, have been thrown into the scale against the better fame of Pericles; and, after prejudicing the opinions of later Greek historians, they have infected the conclusions of modern inquirers. Undue weight has been given to the censure of the one and the ridicule of the others. The connection of Socrates with the Thirty Tyrants, may indicate, without the necessity of more tedious proof, the political tendencies of himself and Plato, and to the comedians everything which could excite a laugh, whether against things divine or human, was fair game.

It has been a great disadvantage to the histories of Greece and Republican Rome, that they have been written in modern times, by persons who, whatever their scholarship or abilities may have been, were the subjects of monarchical governments, and, in consequence, utterly un-

* Thucydides successfully defended Pylilampes when indicted for murder by Pericles. Vit. Anon. Thuc. §. 19. In early times, the advocate of the defendant was connected with his client by some near and binding tie, as is abundantly evinced by the remains of the Athenian Orator, and the technical works on Rhetoric.

† Thuc. lib. viii. c. lxxviii.

‡ Thuc. lib. viii. c. xcvi.

§ Marcellini. Vit. Thuc.—Suidæ. Vit. Thuc.—Vit. Anon. Thuc.

§ Platonis Gorgias.

¶ Aristoph. Ach. 487–537. Nub. 849. Pac. 588–631. The passages of the other Comedians are collected by Wachsmuth. Hist. Ant. Gr.

acquainted with the practical operation of politics under thoroughly republican institutions. The play of the variously concatenated agencies of a genuine democracy is foreign to their experience, and is perfectly incomprehensible to persons accustomed only to monarchical or oligarchical usages. The history of Greece or of early Rome, can never be written with accuracy or truth, until some one may add to the scholarship of Germany the sobriety of English reflection, and a practical and familiar acquaintance with the social and political life of the United States. It was his democratic sympathies, and his democratic experience, which, in great measure, gave to Machiavelli his clear insight into the institutions of Rome, and his profound political sagacity. The absence of such knowledge has rendered ancient history too frequently a travesty and a slander, and has spread a false colouring over our standard histories. It has had no slight influence in perpetuating the unfavourable estimate of the career of Pericles, which was at first incautiously formed from the too credulous reception of the censures of his political adversaries, and the restless jests of the Comic Poets. The letter of Bulis affords as favourable an opportunity as may occur, for a slight sketch of the character and policy of this great statesman, and a passing effort to remove some of the rust which has been permitted to obscure his fame.

The commencement of the public career of Pericles is, however, so intimately interlaced with the public life and rival policy of Cimon; and it is, at the same time, so essential to consider the antecedent changes of affairs, before approaching the examination of the motives and measures of a great statesman, that it can scarcely be deemed a profitless extension of the inquiry to include the history of Cimon's administration. Yet another reason may be alleged for this step. There are two most important eras in the annals of Athens, which have hitherto received very inadequate attention, and have not been studied with anything like that degree of careful scrutiny which they merit, on account of their preponderating influence in the formation and determination of the Athenian character, and also in the modification of the Athenian constitution. Little was said about them by the ancient historians, who occupied themselves with the domestic wars and the brilliant foreign conquests of the city, and after giving the formal legislation of Solon, did

not think of tracing the equally vital changes which took place gradually and in silence. The first era comprises the twenty years of vigorous internal growth and prosperity, marked, however, by active political dissensions, which intervened between the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ and the battle of Marathon, and prepared the Athenians for their long and mighty contention with the Persian power. A luminous commentary on the condition of this era is furnished by Machiavelli's account of Florence, after the expulsion of the Duke of Athens, from his tyrannical authority.* The second period is the still more eventful thirty years which followed the taking of Scyros, by Cimon, and left Pericles, at its close, almost supreme arbiter of Athens. The wars and victories of both periods have been written with sedulous care, but the changes which took place at home in the feelings, the requirements, the condition, and the institutions of the people, have been comparatively neglected. Yet it was in the latter period that the Athenians, under the inevitable operation of the laws of national development, entered upon that career of unchecked ambition and uncastigated license, which precipitated and ensured the downfall of Athens.

Considering this grievous omission of all that is most instructive in the history of nations, the time may not be ill employed, which is devoted to a re-examination of Athenian history, from the battles of Salamis and Plataea, to the ascendancy of unprincipled demagogues. These fifty years are nearly covered by the successive administrations of Cimon and Pericles; and this essay will accordingly review the measures and policy of those statesmen—the motives and necessities which dictated those measures—the changes in the circumstances and temper of the people which instigated them, and their influence and bearing in generating the subsequent fortunes of the Athenians.

During the usurpation and tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons, two of the most illustrious of the old families of Attica had been driven into exile by the reciprocal hatred of the tyrants and themselves. These were the Alcmeonidæ and the Cypselidæ: the former had indeed been previously obliged to withdraw from the city, in consequence

* *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. II, III.

of their implication in the murder of Cylon's associates. They were both wealthy, and both ennobled by frequent victories in the chariot race at the Olympic Games,* an honor which the Greeks prized more highly than others. But the former family had been distinguished immemorially, by its hostility to tyrants, notwithstanding its matrimonial alliance with Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon,† and even with Pisistratus himself. By them, Cylon's attempted usurpation had been suppressed, and his followers slain.‡ They had exercised, in favour of the liberties of Athens, the influence which they had acquired over the Pythian Oracle, by rebuilding the temple of Delphi: for it was at their instigation that the Pythoness commanded every Spartan who approached the shrine, to aid in expelling the tyrants. By them, Pisistratus had been twice ejected from his throne, and by them his son was finally driven out.|| On the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, the Alcmeonid, Callias, the son of Phænippus, and kinsman of Aristides, alone ventured to purchase their property, when offered for sale.§ His known hostility to the tyrants exempted him from all suspicion, and from the fear of suspicion.

The enmity of the Cypselidæ and the Pisistratidæ was apparently more placable. The sovereignty of the Thracian Chersonnese, which remained in the hands of the former during several successions, furnished some slight bond of sympathy. Cimon, the son of Stesagoras, and brother of the first Miltiades, purchased from the tyrant at home, the privilege of returning to Athens, by the transfer of his second victory in the four-horse race at the Olympic Games. A third victory, however, with the same mares, excited or inflamed the jealousy of the sons of Pisistratus, who had succeeded to his power. Cimon was waylaid and assassinated by their orders.¶ Nevertheless, his younger son, Miltiades, continued to reside at Athens, until he was sent by Hippias to assume the government of the Chersonnese, on the death of his elder brother, Stesagoras. Here he strengthened his authority

* Herod. lib. vi. c. ciii. cxxv. Isocrat. De Bigis, § 10.

† Herod. lib. vi. c. cxxii.—cxxx.

‡ Herod. lib. v. c. lxxi. Thuc. i. c. cxxvi.—vii. of the attempt of Andrea Strozzi at Florence. Machival. Ist. Fur. lib. ii.

|| Herod. lib. v. c. lxii—v. lib. vi. c. cxxiii. Thuc. lib. vi. clx.

§ Herod. lib. vi. c. cxxi.

¶ Herod. lib. vi. c. ciii.

and increased his hereditary wealth, by marrying the daughter of a neighbouring Thracian king, and continued his rule under a limited subjection to the Persian monarch. On the unfortunate expedition of Darius, into Scythia, Miltiades, (who had accompanied his march as far as the Danube, perhaps as much for the sake of revenging on the Scythians, injuries previously inflicted by them on himself as from any feudal obligation,) would have taken advantage of the king's embarrassments to secure the independence of his own dominions, but was prevented from breaking the bridge of boats by Histæus of Miletus.

While Miltiades was employed in his Thracian principality, Clisthenes, then the head of the Alcmaeonidæ, was engaged in restoring the liberties of the city by the overthrow of the Pisistratidæ,—by the repulsion of Isagoras and the Spartans, who were endeavouring to re-establish the ancient supremacy of the aristocracy, and by remodeling the State in conformity with the institutions of Solon, and that demand for still more liberal institutions which had sprung up with the growing prosperity of the community. The legislation of Clisthenes was a further and important development of that of Solon—he accomplished what the latter had well begun. Solon had undermined the aristocracy by the establishment of a timocratic constitution. Clisthenes destroyed the ancient elements of oligarchical power, and organized in its place a genuine democratic polity. The measures of Clisthenes have been judged harshly by Niebuhr, and condemned in terms scarcely reconcilable with the best testimonies of antiquity. The high esteem in which his administration was held by the ancients, is witnessed by the concurring praises of the historians, philosophers and orators of Athens*—and is still more strikingly evinced by his having constituted the exemplar after which Aristides formed himself.

Thus, while the Alcmaeonidæ proved themselves, by sincere services, the hereditary friends of popular government, and not merely the advocates, but also the instigators of liberal measures,—thus resembling the Valerii Poplicoeæ at Rome—there was much in the history of the Cypselidæ to arouse the suspicions of a people who had been taught, by long trials and frequent deceptions, to be keenly jealous of their liberties. Hence, it was not sur-

* Herod. lib. v. c. LXV. LXIX. Isocrat. Areopag. § 6. De Perm. § 26, * 20 De Bigis. § 10,

prising that Miltiades, on his return to Athens, should have been impeached on account of his sovereignty in the Chersonnese*—but it is a striking evidence of the generosity of the Athenians of that day, that he should have been acquitted, and shortly after elected one of their generals.

Soon after the battle of Marathon had been gained by the courage and conduct of Miltiades, a collision took place between the rival families of the Cypselidæ and the Alcmaeonidæ. Miltiades abused the trust which had been generously reposed in him by the Athenians. With a fleet of seventy sail, which had been confided to him, at his request, without any specification of his object, he had besieged Paros, from a desire, it was supposed, of revenging upon the inhabitants of the Island the ill-will which he suspected a Parian of having excited against himself, in the breast of the Persian king. This expedition proved a signal failure, and was abandoned as suspiciously as it had been undertaken. On his return, the conqueror of Marathon was capitally impeached by Xanthippus,† the future conqueror of Mycale, who, by his marriage with Agariste, the niece of Clisthenes,‡ had become the representative of the Alcmaeonidæ. Former rivalries might have existed,—perhaps they might have been engendered by the competition for the hand of Agariste, the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, when Megacles, the father of Clisthenes of Athens, carried off the heiress from the Cypselid, Hippoclide, who had been the favoured suitor until he danced away his bride on the day of festival, which was also the last day of trial. But “Hippoclide did not care”§—“it was as one to Andy”—and the accusation of Miltiades by Xanthippus was the first authentic instance of opposition between the two houses.

Miltiades died of the wounds received before Paros in the prison into which he had been thrown after his condemnation. The fine of fifty talents, which he was sentenced to pay, was subsequently discharged by his son, Cimon. Xanthippus long survived the great man whom he had accused, and, in common with other members of the same illustrious race,¶ distinguished himself by liberality

* Herod. lib. vi. c. civ.

† Herod. lib. vi. c. cxxxvi.

‡ Herod. lib. vi. c. cxxix.

§ οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῃ. Were the Cypselids of Athens related to the Cypselids of Corinth?

¶ Clinias, the son of Alcibiades, received the prize of bravery at Artemisium. Herod. lib. viii. c. xvii.

and public services in the second Persian war, though he eclipsed them all by the crowning victory of Mycale, obtained in concert with Deotychides, over the combined land and sea forces of Persia, on the same day that Pausanias and Aristides won the great field of Plataea. When Xanthippus died, he left to his son, Pericles, his wealth, his dignity, his influence, a notable accession of ancestral renown, and the well merited popularity of his throne. But his own achieved greatness far transcending that of his father—a greatness which had been prognosticated even before his birth—for his mother, Agariste, but a short time before he was born, dreamt that she was delivered of a lion.*

Such was the origin, and such the ancestral history of the two great statesmen, who successively held power during the most brilliant period of Athenian glory, and who long contended with each other for the ascendancy. Their mutual competition, which, however, never descended into personal hostility, was inflamed by hereditary rivalry and hereditary opposition of political views, and perhaps even by their matrimonial alliance.† Both could equally lay claim to the influence of a large and powerful connection, illustrious birth, and the distinguished public services of their progenitors. Both possessed, in an eminent degree, high personal qualities, intrepid bravery, military skill, popular manners, a large acquaintance with men, the most enthusiastic patriotism and extraordinary abilities. Perhaps two such accomplished gladiators have never grappled with each other on the stormy arena of politics, if the brilliant, the long continued, and the hereditary antagonism of Fox and Pitt be excepted. Each had his own peculiar advantages over the other. The haughtiness and magnificent liberality of the one, was no less influential than the dignified affability and rigid integrity of the other. The laconic brevity of Cimon, was counterbalanced by the exuberant eloquence of Pericles. The former linked himself to the historic and the recent glories of Athens; the latter pressed forward to the realization of a still more brilliant future. Reverence for antiquity characterized the one; the hope of further advancement stimulated the other. The preservation of a steady and

* Herod. lib. vi. c. cxxxl.

† V. Palmer *Alcæonidarum Stemma*. ap. Dobson, *Orat. Alt. ton.* vii. p. 95. cf. F. H. Clinton *Fast: Hell: & Boeckh ad Pindar.*

equable prosperity was the object of the one ; the attainment of ampler freedom and a more dazzling success was the lode-star of the other. Order was the watch-word of Cimon ; progress the aspiration of Pericles. The pursuits of war for the sake of subjugating the barbarian powers, which had threatened the independence of Greece, constituted the favourite occupation of the former ; the arts of peace, for the development of the greatness of Athens, were more especially cultivated by the latter. The patriotism of the former extended more equally to all the members of the Grecian system, and was consequently more enlarged and legitimate ; but the patriotism of the latter, if more exclusively confined to his own city, was more ardent and intense. The former dreamt of a close and strong federal union of the States of Greece ; the latter yearned for the uncontested supremacy of his native city. The former was the leader and representative of the ancient aristocracy and the wealthier classes ; the latter was the earnest advocate of the recently enfranchised citizens. Hence, the one was strong in the steady union and uniform policy of the aristocratic party ; the other derived his support from the irresistible but wavering enthusiasm of the masses. Each was the representative of a great party in the State, and an active principle in the healthy development and prosperity of nations. The one checked that heedless impetuosity which tended to premature exhaustion and decrepitude ; the other prevented the stagnation and apathy which must have resulted in an early paralysis. The one, by his caution, restrained the abundant waters within their natural banks ; the other kept them agitated and pure by the breath of his vivifying power. Cimon was, however, considerably the elder of the two, and he had already gained the confidence and good will of the people by his dazzling career of victory, and his boundless munificence, when Pericles first took part in the management of political affairs.

Before proceeding to the review of the administrations of Cimon and Pericles, it will be of essential service to their full comprehension, to obtain an accurate acquaintance with the aspect of Athenian politics, and the temper and feelings of the Athenian people, at the time when Cimon's influence became paramount in the State.

The silence of long obscurity covers nearly the whole of the first ten centuries of Athenian history. A few scat-

tered and mythical incidents alone attest her existence, and slowly-gathering strength. But her growth, if tardy, was sure:

Crescit occulto velut arbor ævo.

Enough, however, has been transmitted to later times to indicate, even through the mists of fable, that the inhabitants of Attica were poor, hardy, industrious, numerous, and characterized by the same love of national independence, and the same spirit of heroic chivalry, which shed such a brilliant lustre over the bloom of her maturity. They were long subjected to the patriarchal rule of hereditary princes, but were gradually educated for a career of freedom, by slow but happily ordered transitions through the intermediate forms of government. The power of the aristocracy was long dominant after the kingly rule had been abolished: and it was only by frequent and energetic struggles, that their authority was diminished in each successive generation. Draco in vain attempted to restore their former supremacy and lost immunities. Property in land seems to have been restricted for many ages to the nobility; and the grievances incident to the exclusive ownership of the soil, seem to have been only mitigated by the legislation of Solon. Before this time, however, no tyrant had usurped the sovereignty of Athens, though nearly all the other cities of Greece had been, at one time or other, reduced under tyrannical authority. The unsuccessful attempt of Cylon served but to illustrate the more healthy or fortunate condition of the Sacred City of Minerva. But soon after the acceptance of Solon's constitution, the usurpation of Pisistratus altered the destinies of Athens, and introduced a new era in her history.

Herodotus and Thucydides both testify the moderation and excellence of the government of Pisistratus, notwithstanding its iniquitous inception.* He is said to have enforced the laws of Solon,—laws which, without his popular despotism, would probably have been annulled, or rendered nugatory by the steady opposition of the nobles. The long period embraced by the rule of himself and his sons, was profitably employed in the generation and development of the energies and resources of the Athenians. The arts were cultivated, literature and science patronized and in-

* Thucyd. lib. vi. c. LIV.

dustury rewarded. Thus commerce sprung up, and wealth arose out of the tranquility of the State, and under the fostering care of a dynasty of tyrants. The nobility were humbled, and their power repressed—the people were sedulously favoured, and their energies educated and employed. Thus were laid the foundations of Athenian prosperity. At length the Pisistratidæ were ejected, and, by a fatal misfortune, it was accomplished only through Spartan intervention. The return of the lately exiled aristocracy, was the signal for a renewed struggle for the recovery of their ancient power, and the abridgment of those rights, which had been granted to the Demus by the constitution of Solon, and confirmed and extended by the liberal policy of the tyrants. In this struggle, the Spartans, in accordance with the instincts engendered by their domestic institutions, lent their influence and their arms to Isagoras and the oligarchs; but the spirit of the democracy, guided by the energy, the integrity and the wisdom of Clisthenes, proved, after some reverses, finally triumphant. The result of their success was the judicious constitution of Clisthenes, which rendered hopeless the resuscitation of the ancient exclusive supremacy of the aristocrats, though it by no means extirpated the desire of its attainment. A short period of tranquility and vigorous prosperity followed the establishment of the democracy,* but was soon interrupted by the Persian wars. Experience of its blessings, had increased the love of liberty in the breasts of the Athenians; half a century of commercial activity and social order had multiplied their resources; the recent publication of the collected poems of Homer had fired their enthusiasm; and the elation of their prosperity and recent successes against the Spartans and at Sardis, inspired that buoyant confidence and self-reliance, which enabled them to encounter and overthrow the hosts of the barbarians.

Fifteen years of desperate wars and brilliant victories ensued. Athens had been burnt to the ground and twice occupied by the Persians; but she had been the main instrument in preserving the liberties of Greece; and she had gained, either alone or in concert with Sparta, the immortal battles of Marathon, Artemisium, Salamis, Platæa and Mycale. She was shortly thereafter elected head of

* Herod. lib. v. c. LXVI, LXXVIII.

the allied fleets engaged in prosecuting the war and carrying it back into the territories of the enemy: and she was appointed the administrator of the confederate powers of Greece. The hero of Marathon died the year after that battle; and his accuser, the hero of Mycale, never became prominent in civil affairs: but the great names of Themistocles and Aristides rendered this period even more illustrious than the preceding age had been.

During the whole course of the Persian war, the selfishness and jealousy of Sparta had been strikingly evinced. Even before its commencement, they had intrigued with Hippias for the ruin of Athens, and had seriously contemplated the re-establishment of his tyranny.* During the continuance of the war they had been drawn into the engagements of Artemisium and Salamis, by the bribes and stratagems of Themistocles. At Marathon, they had not appeared on the field until the day after the battle: at Plataea they would have betrayed the fortunes of Greece, in order to gratify a mean rivalry, had it not been for the lofty patriotism of Aristides, and the magnanimity of the Athenians. While the Persian hosts were daily expected, they had endeavoured to excite war between the Bæotians and Athenians, by referring the Plataeans to the protection of the latter,† instead of espousing their cause themselves. They had uniformly manifested a callous indifference to the fate of Athens. and a petty anxiety for their own individual security, which contrasted unfavourably with the generous spirit of self-sacrifice which animated the Athenians. As soon as their arrogance had alienated the affections of the allies, and transferred the supremacy to Athens,‡ they had withdrawn their forces from the confederate fleet, and had sunk into an ignominious inactivity which only watched for an opportunity of crushing or injuring the rival city. Their miserable and malignant jealousy was offensively, but fruitlessly, displayed, when Themistocles opened the harbour of Piræus and fortified Athens—and their whole procedure was calculated to embitter the Athenians, and render them suspicious of Spartan policy.

The inglorious apathy of Sparta gave freer scope to the growing dominion of Athens. The war with Persia

* Herod. lib. v. c. xc-xciii.

† Herod. lib. vi. c. cviii.

‡ Isocrat. Areopag. §. 3. De Pace.

was by no means intermitted. The first effort was made to cripple her navy by withdrawing from her allegiance those States of Asia Minor, and those Islands of the Ægean, which had so largely contributed to swell its numbers. A common treasury was established in the Island of Delos: and it was left to the prudent integrity of Aristides to assess the contingent in men, ships and money, which each ally should furnish. It was not long, however, before a majority of the allies commuted their subsidy of men and vessels into a contribution of money alone—on the same principle which, in a long subsequent age, induced the substitution of scutages for the personal services of the feudal tenure. It was also during the administration of Aristides, that the funds of the confederacy were, at the suggestions of the Samians, removed from Delos to Athens for greater security.* Thus, the direction of the war and the management of the finances, were consigned to the absolute control of Athens. The Athenians increased this revenue and added to their own strength, while weakening the barbarian empire, by subjugating and rendering tributary many of the Islands which had favoured the Persian invasion, and thus they amassed those immense sums, of which a portion was subsequently employed in the decoration of their city.

This rapid increase of power, and wealth, and glory, was not without effect upon the character of the Athenians. The democracy was strengthened and intoxicated by its signal success.† Its appetite for liberty, or rather equality, became wild and turbulent. Its ambition became inflated; and, like a celebrated Republic of our own days, it deemed it to be its manifest destiny to extend the area of freedom, by undertaking a crusade for the establishment of liberal opinions and institutions.‡ The freedom of its own polity was expanded by rendering the Archonship, like the other offices of State, elective by ballot. After this measure had been carried by Aristides—a necessary and therefore expedient concession to the growing demands of the masses—the only trace of the old aristocratic government was preserved in the still flourishing council of the Areopagus. The sudden acquisition of wealth, which was neither the result of slow ac-

* Wachsmuth. *Pol. Ant. Greece*, vol. II. § 58, p. 94, v. n. 24.

† *Aristot. Pol. lib. v. c. iv. p. 1304. a 20.*

‡ *Aristot. Pol. lib. v. c. 7. p. 1307. b 22.*

cretions, nor obtained by their own industry, generated a spirit of wild enthusiasm and extravagant license. The Athenian regarded his city as sacred and inviolable, and what is singular, after its double capture by the Persians, as impregnable also: and he looked upon himself as, in some sort, a demi-god. Already the germs of the future profligacy and vice had become fatally apparent: it is true that the energy, the daring, the sagacity, and the genius which have immortalized the city, were still more strikingly manifested. But it was already obvious, to what end a people actuated by such passions, and suddenly released from all fear and restraint, must ultimately come. It is vain to attempt to turn back the current of popular tendencies, when once fairly set in; all that a statesman could do, would be to retard, to modify, and to mitigate their development.

Thus, while the war with Persia was vigorously pursued, and the power of Athens daily augmented, Sparta was regarded with a suspicion which was responded to by a malignant and ill-disguised hostility, and the free spirit of the Athenian people was gradually though obscurely degenerating into turbulent licentiousness and reckless rapacity. It is true, that it was not until half a century later, that these tendencies fully revealed themselves, in their abundant harvest of bitter and deadly fruit, but the seeds were undoubtedly sown and began to germinate in the first years after the retreat of the Persian armies from Greece. It was at this time that Cimon first became prominent in the State. Neither the authority nor the opposition of Themistocles and Aristides was yet diminished, but the lapse of a few years witnessed the ostracism of the one and the death of the other.

Cimon had spent his early youth in extravagance and dissipation, but the efforts of Aristides had been successful in weaning him from his unworthy career. He had first attracted attention, at the abandonment of Athens, on the approach of the Persian armies, by marching in procession at the head of his young companions, (when all others but Themistocles were desponding and despairing,) to deposit in the Temple of Athené, the bridle for which he had no further use, previous to his embarkation along with his fellow-citizens on board of the fleet, which floated on the bay of Salamis, and bore upon the uncertain waves the hopes and the fortunes of his country. In the

same fleet, Pericles also may possibly have served. Cimon, shortly after, distinguished himself in command of the navy of the confederates, by the subjugation of several Islands in the Ægean, and the acquisition of valuable territories in Thrace. On his return from the latter expedition, he subdued Scyros, and brought thence to Athens the long lost bones of Theseus, for which the Athenians had been commanded by an oracle to search. The magnificent Theseum was built by Cimon as a fitting receptacle for these precious relics, but their advent was rendered still more illustrious by the first tragic victory gained by Sophocles, at the expense of his great predecessor, Æschylus. The prize was adjudged to him irregularly, perhaps unfairly, by Cimon, who, with his military colleagues, had improperly received from the enthusiasm of the spectators, the appointment of judge of the dramatic contests.

The first instance of the prominent intervention of Cimon in civil affairs, occurred on the banishment of Themistocles, five years after the conquest of Scyros. That the persecution of Themistocles was principally due to party spirit, and an imprudent subservience to Sparta, seems, as even a Tory historian has admitted, sufficiently evident. The share which Cimon had in effecting it, cannot be exactly determined, but as he was so partial to the Spartans, so intimately connected with them, and so directly aided by them on this occasion—as he was the leader of the party opposed to Themistocles, (for Aristides had been by no means an exclusive aristocrat,) and as he was the principal gainer by the measure, we may reasonably suspect Cimon of having been the main instrument in the expulsion of Themistocles. Be this, however, as it may, his further connection with these transactions is undoubted, and was so discreditable as to have left an indelible stain on his otherwise noble character. It was at the instigation, and on the prosecution of Cimon that Epicrates was condemned and put to death, for having aided the escape of the wife and children of the exiled hero. The brilliant career of Cimon has thrown into the shade, and in some degree obliterated, the recollection of this atrocious crime.*

After the banishment of Themistocles, Cimon, following

* We might have quoted as singularly apposite, the aphorism of Pindar. *Olymp. II.*, vo. 29, 38. Ed. Heyne.

the bent of his own natural tastes, engaged in new expeditions. The conquest of Byzantium, Sestos, Naxos and Thasos, and the seizure of the gold mines of Thrace, while they increased the dominion, the power and the wealth of Athens, augmented vastly the private riches of the conqueror. Too little attention has been paid to the consequences of the acquisition of these gold mines, and of the improved working and administration of the silver mines of Laurium. They tended, materially, in connection with the widely extended commerce of Athens, to increase the resources of the city, and the wealth of the citizens, but they also operated to depreciate the value of the coin. The importance and relevancy of this observation will hereafter be made apparent.

Of all the victories of Cimon, the battles of the Eurymedon were the most glorious, and the sources of his most enduring renown. With two hundred Grecian ships, he attacked the Persian armament of three hundred and fifty sail, which was lying near the mouth of the river. Two hundred vessels were taken, many were sunk, and the small remainder saved by flight. This naval engagement was no sooner ended, than, landing his troops, he led them against the fresh and superior numbers of the enemy on shore. Not satisfied with even his second signal success, he re-embarked his forces, and instantly set sail to meet a re-inforcement of Phœnician vessels, which was hastening to join the Persians. Of the eighty-four ships which he encountered, all were either taken or sunk. This rapid succession of brilliant victories, and the severe blow which had been inflicted on the Persian power, almost eclipsed the exploits of Miltiades, Xanthippus, Themistocles, and Aristides. Cimon returned triumphant home, having secured the fruits of his skill and conduct by the treaty of Eurymedon,* and he brought with him the immense harvest of rich spoils which he had won from the vanquished. A large portion became the reward of his own services, the rest was partly distributed among his followers, partly employed by him in decorating the city, fortifying the Piræus and building the long walls. This last great work, which had been planned and commenced by Themistocles,

* The treaty of the Eurymedon has been denied or discredited by the most recent historians, but it is strongly attested by the Athenian orators. We are aware that their historical statements can be accepted only with the greatest caution. The suggestion of Wachsmuth is plausible and probable.

was continued by Cimon, and completed by his rival and successor.

By the addition of his share of the prize money to his hereditary estates, Cimon had become one of the wealthiest citizens of Athens. It is uncertain whether the family possessions in Thrace, were regained on the expulsion of the Persians from Europe, but this is rendered probable by the fact that the fortune of Thucydides, the historian, was derived from this region, and that Cimon was living on his estate in the Chersonnese when recalled from exile. It is by no means unlikely, that the frequent descents upon Thrace made by Cimon, and his seizure of the gold mines there, were dictated by the desire of recovering or securing his patrimony. But however this may be, it is certain that after the battles of the Eurymedon, Cimon's wealth was enormous. This was employed by him with the most magnificent liberality. Gorgias truly said, that Cimon amassed treasures for use, and used them for honor.* He laid out the Academy and adorned it with splendid edifices: his private gardens were thrown open to the citizens, (perhaps in the same manner, and with the same motives, as the Jardin d'Orléans was made public by Egalité, just before the French Revolution.) The poor and the needy found in him a constant friend and a sure support. Not satisfied with relieving obvious necessities, and acceding to the solicitations of want, he forced his munificent charities on all who would accept his gifts. His attendants followed him with changes of raiment and purses of money to minister to the comforts or requirements of his poorer fellow-citizens. This liberality, united with his merited renown, dispelled the ill-will with which he had been at first greeted on account of his haughty bearing, and rendered him the idol, and, to a great extent, the arbiter of his people. The course which he pursued was, however, calculated to excite suspicion, and he was charged with a design of subverting the constitution of Athens. There can be little doubt, that this unmeasured generosity of Cimon was designed as a bribe to the populace, and had all the effect of bribery in undermining their principles, unsettling their morals, and awakening that lust of support, luxury, and amusement, without industry, which afterwards produced such ruinous consequences.

* He collected means *ὡς χρῶτο, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμῶτο.* Plut. Cimon 10.

But while Cimon was earning honour abroad, and building up influence at home, another candidate for popular confidence appeared to dispute the supremacy with him. This was Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, a man singularly endowed by nature and favoured by fortune, with all the qualities and advantages which could conspire in the formation of a great and liberal statesman. His first intervention in public affairs, seems to have occurred two years after the ostracism of Themistocles, the year before the death of Aristides, and three years before the battles on the Eurymedon. It would seem that the banishment of Themistocles had left the popular party at Athens almost without a head, and completely at the mercy of the aristocracy, whose power had been recently cemented and fortified by a combination with Sparta, at whose instance the victor of Salamis had been ejected and condemned to death, and by whose influence Cimon had risen to the summit of power. Ephialtes, though distinguished for his character and eloquence, was hardly competent to cope with Cimon; and the sycophant, Epiclydes, if still alive, was both too obscure and too contemptible to be at this time accepted as the head of a great party. In this want of a leader and defenceless condition of the Demos, Pericles, though still a young man, presented himself as the advocate of popular rights, and cheered on the forlorn hope which struggled against the growing influence of the oligarchical party. With this commencement, ensued a brilliant race of rivalry between Cimon and Pericles. It was long, however, before the balance inclined in favour of the latter, and the issue might have been doubtful, if it had not been for the insensate, and, perhaps, treacherous alliance between the dominant party and Sparta, and the renewed manifestations of malignity and ill-will on the part of Sparta herself.

When Pericles first appeared on the stage, the influence of Aristides was still unshaken, though the exclusive policy of Cimon, and his fatal connection with Sparta, must have tended very decidedly to undermine the more liberal policy of that great and just man. Pericles was at this time superintendant of the Federal Treasury, though to Aristides still seems to have been entrusted the supreme direction of the finances of the allies. It was possibly at the suggestion of Pericles that the removal of the treasures from Delos to Athens, was resolved upon. This mea-

sure was, however, adopted on the solicitation of the Samians, and with the full concurrence, if not approbation, of Aristides himself.

It was not long after this transfer of the funds, that Pericles appeared as the accuser of Cimon, on his return from the conquest of Thasos. He was accused of an attempt to establish a tyranny in his own favour, by the overthrow of the constitution, but the indictment directly alleged his acceptance of a bribe from Alexander, king of Macedon, (the double traitor, who was at once the professed friend of Athens, and the ally of Persia at Plataea,) to refrain from attacking his dominions. The specific charges may have both been equally unfounded: they remind us of the similar accusations which were so frequent at Rome after the *Regifugium*, as in the instances of Coriolanus and Spurius Mælius, &c. But we can scarcely entertain a doubt that both the wishes and the measures of Cimon tended to the subversion, by insensible degrees of the popular government, and the establishment of an oligarchy in its stead. The want of a sufficient foundation in fact, for the indictment laid, when there was so much to justify suspicion of the general course of Cimon, will not appear strange to those who are familiar with the State trials in Athens, and who are conversant with the exceeding laxity of legal proceedings, and the utter ignorance of the necessity or bearing of strict evidence, which prevailed in all the judicial courts. The absence, too, of constitutional checks, and a regular constitutional procedure, made a capital trial the only means of attaining those ends which would be more certainly, securely and efficiently attained in England, by a vote in parliament against the ministers. Our republican form of government may, at some future day, render an impeachment the only means of removing an offensive cabinet officer, or restraining objectionable proceedings on the part of the Executive. Hence, in estimating the characters of Cimon and Pericles, we must not so much regard the specific accusation, as the object which it was intended to effect, and we may compare this trial to an ordinary vote of confidence in the British parliament. Pericles could scarcely expect at this time to succeed in his aim; but probably meditated only a blow to the authority of Cimon. Yet Cimon barely escaped the sentence of death; and was condemned, like his father, to pay a fine of fifty talents. The leniency which Peri-

cles manifested throughout the trial, has been referred to the intercession of Elpinice, Cimon's sister ; but might be more probably attributed to his native generosity of character, and Cimon's matrimonial connection with his family ;* or it might, perhaps, be assigned with still greater justice, to the doubt which Pericles must have felt of the strength of his own party in the State.

This condemnation and fine did not immediately affect the position or influence of Cimon.

The military tastes and ambition of Cimon, his wealth, the remembrance of the suspicion with which his father, Miltiades, had been regarded, and more especially the recollection of his condemnation and death, combined with family ties and associations to render him an enthusiastic participant of the views, the policy and the aspirations of the oligarchical class. To this policy he was still more deeply bound by his connection with Sparta and his indebtedness to Spartan influence for the power and position which he possessed. What that policy was, and what were the objects of the oligarchical party, may be readily discovered. They desired the retention of power in their own hands, the abridgment of the privileges recently conceded or surrendered to the masses, the limitation of the suffrage, the exclusion of the lower ranks from office, and they entertained a vague yearning after the blessings of that golden age, when all authority and patronage, and the abundant rewards of office, were in the possession of the noble or wealthy alone. For the accomplishment of these desires, the young men† formed secret societies, (*Ἐραπειαί*), and the heads of the great houses intrigued with Sparta for countenance and support. There is no reason to suspect Cimon of being guilty of any treasonable practices, but he always unduly inclined to a close confederation with Sparta, which former experience in the contests between Clisthenes and Isagoras, had shown to be inseparable from subjection to that State. But Cimon was almost the only member of his party who abstained from traitorous proceedings and outrageous measures. The general procedure and feeling of the oligarchs, are evin-

* Isodice, the wife of Cimon, was the grand-niece of Agaristé, the mother of Pericles, consequently cousin of Pericles himself.

† Compare the *Juniore*s of Rome in the time of Cincinnatus. It is worthy of note, that in some places, as in Syracuse, the Young became the designation of the aristocratic party. Thuc. vi. c. 38, 39. We may allude to "Young England."

ced by the conspiracy which was formed even in the camp before Platæa :* by their correspondence with Sparta previous to the battle of Tanagra ;† and by the disgraceful assassination of Ephialtes.‡ But if Cimon was free from such guilt, he offensively contrasted on all occasions the manners and organization of the Spartans with those of the Athenians : he imprudently and rudely eulogized the former at the expense of the latter, even in the popular assemblies ; and he sealed his Laconizing and oligarchical predilections by deserting the old and illustrious nomenclature of his family, and naming his sons after oligarchical States—Lacedæmonius, Eleus, and Thessalus.

This dependent, anti-national, and Laconizing policy was strenuously opposed by Pericles, but for several years almost without success. Meanwhile Cimon was prosecuting, abroad, his vast designs against Persia, and at home strengthening the exclusive power of the aristocracy. The first incident that overthrew his influence and popularity sprung out of his blind and fatal partiality for Sparta. When the Thasians had been defeated in battle and besieged by Cimon, they applied to the Lacedæmonians for aid, and solicited them to make a diversion in their favour by a descent upon Attica. The desired irruption was promised and carefully concealed from the knowledge of the Athenians. The treacherous design was, however, fortunately frustrated by the domestic calamities which at that time so suddenly befell the Spartans.|| A terrible earthquake happening at mid-day, desolated their country, and almost annihilated their city. Only five houses were left standing in Sparta. and the loss of human life was estimated at twenty thousand souls. This was the commencement of a succession of earthquakes, which occurred in almost every year till nearly the close of the Peloponnesian war. The Helots, taking advantage of the confusion and terror, rose in arms ; but on reaching the city, they found the Spartans regularly drawn up in military array by the caution and prudent foresight of Archidamus. Dismayed by this unexpected preparation, they retreated from the city, and joining their forces to

* Vide Wachsmuth. *Pol. Ant. Gr.* vol. ii. p. 18.

† *Thuc.* i. 107. Wachsmuth. *Pol. Ant. Gr.* vol. ii. p. 77.

‡ Wachsmuth. vol. ii. p. 98.

|| *Thuc.* i. 101. v. Dr. Arnold ad. loc. *Aristoph.* *Acharn.* v. *Comm.* Mitford *Hist. Gr.* ii. p. 239. *Thirlwall Hist. Gr.* c. xvii. i. p. 295.

those of the Messenians, seized upon Ithomé and thus gave occasion to the third Messenian war, which lasted ten years.

Nearly overwhelmed by an array of calamities so much more terrible than those they had been devising for their rivals, and compelled to undertake a death-struggle for their own existence, instead of engaging in a war for dominion, the Spartans, more heedful of their necessities than their honour, sent an embassy to Athens to solicit the aid of those very rivals whose ruin they had been so lately meditating. Their petition was strenuously opposed by Ephialtes, but advocated by Cimon,* whose party and whose influence were still dominant in the State. It is not necessary to look very deeply for the motives which determined the respective views of Ephialtes and Cimon. If the latter be entitled to the credit of generosity, the former may claim the less showy but more statesmanlike virtue of prudence. Ephialtes was aware of the treacherous temper of the Spartans, their uniform desire of humiliating Athens, and the baneful influence which they exercised in the domestic affairs of the city. Cimon felt the necessity of this influence for the maintenance of his own power and the ascendancy of the aristocrats,—by their support he had, in a great measure, obtained his position in the State—and he feared that the aid would be withdrawn if the Spartans were neglected in their pressing calamities.

The views of Cimon prevailed with the Athenians. The aid was voted, and Cimon himself commissioned to lead an army of four thousand Hoplitæ to the assistance of Sparta. It seems uncertain whether the Spartans twice solicited aid, or only once. The latter is the opinion of Wachsmuth, but strong objections may be urged against his belief. According to the ordinarily received account, Cimon had hardly returned from his first expedition, when a second embassy arrived, again soliciting aid against the Helots and Messenians, who had surprised the strong fortress of Ithomé, already illustrious in the previous history of the Messenian wars, and shut themselves up in it. The Spartans at this time, notwithstanding their reputation as the best soldiers in Greece, were ignorant of the tedious operations of a siege, and required the skill and experience of the Athenian warriors, who, by their long and various foreign service, were more familiar with that part of strate-

* Plutarch. Cimon 16.

gy. The aid requested was again sent. Before any long time, however, had elapsed, Cimon and the Athenian soldiers, alone of the allies, were sent home with contumely. Whether this was done in the mere spirit of wanton jealousy, or in the arrogant insolence of reviving confidence, cannot now be known ; but from whatever cause it proceeded, it had the effect of arousing the ancient suspicions and the just indignation of the Athenians.

During the absence of Cimon, in the reduction of Thasos, and in command of the auxiliaries granted to the entreaties of Sparta, Pericles had laid the foundation of that policy which was calculated to reduce the excessive power of the aristocracy, and to introduce into the practical working of the government, that equality of rights and powers, which had now been professed for more than half a century in theory. The achievement of this aim was inconsistent with the continued existence of the power of Cimon, and the leaders of the democratic party, with the co-operation of Pericles, took advantage of the animosity excited by the late insult against Sparta, and all who had advocated her assistance, to remove Cimon from the management of affairs. This was accomplished by his ostracism, two years after the conquest of Thasos, and in the same year in which the Athenian auxiliaries had been so insolently sent home from Ithomé.

The institution of the ostracism has been so little understood, and so frequently misrepresented, that it would merit a separate consideration in a distinct essay. We will only remark here, that the expediency of its existence in the Greek Republics is evinced by the fact, that wherever democratic institutions were introduced, it was adopted as a necessary appendage to them, and seems to have been so regarded by Aristotle himself. At a time when the science of government was only imperfectly understood by the multitude, and no conception was entertained of that intricate system of checks and counter-checks, so familiar in the organization of nearly all modern constitutional governments, perhaps no better substitute could have been devised than the ostracism, which declared no guilt, did not impeach honour, confiscated no property, in no respect interfered with the enjoyment of its returns, and imposed no penalty beyond a compulsory absence from the State, of specific duration, in the case of those whose influence or aims were regarded

as pernicious to the liberties or interests of the community. Its beneficial operation in the Greek Republics may be illustrated by the contrast between the fate of unpopular public officers at Athens, during the existence of the ostracism, and after its abolition. Cimon was ostracised; in modern times he would have been impeached. Pericles, the son of Pericles, was murdered with his brother generals, after the victory of Arginusæ.*

On Cimon's ostracism, he retired to his hereditary estates in the Thracian Chersonnese, though he seems to have occasionally returned to the neighbourhood of Attica. This exile was the close of the political ascendancy, though not of the glory, of Cimon. After his recall, which took place five years subsequently, he commanded armies, he led great expeditions, he negotiated treaties, but until his death before Citium, notwithstanding the continued struggles of his party, he was unable to make any considerable change in the policy pursued by Pericles—and until the revolution of the Four Hundred, the democratic party at Athens continued, through all the various vicissitudes of a most fluctuating career, to retain the influence and ascendancy which Pericles had acquired for them.

It was probably before the ostracism of Cimon, and during his absence at Ithomé, that the first great measure of the democracy for the reduction of the power of the aristocracy, was carried after much opposition. This was the restriction of the power of the Areopagus. That illustrious body was composed of those citizens who had discharged the function of Archon, and after the expiration of their time of office, had satisfactorily passed the Euthyne, or public examination into the mode in which they had performed their duties. The Archonship had been thrown open by Aristides to all classes of the citizens, but, like the Consulship at Rome, after it was made free to the plebeians, continued to be filled almost exclusively from the ranks of the Eupatridæ. This may be explained by the want of leisure or the want of means for the duties and expenses of the office, on the part of the majority of the citizens, and perhaps, in some measure, by that reverence for illustrious birth which never ceased to characterize the Athenian public. From whatever

* Xenophon. *Hellenica*. lib. i. cap. vii.

cause arising, the Archons continued to be elected almost entirely from the wealthy and aristocratic classes. After serving their term of office, and rendering a satisfactory account of their administration of the public affairs confided to them, they entered at once, without further proceedings, into the Areopagitic College. There were nine Archons, and the office was annual, and hence the Areopagitæ must at all times have formed a numerous body. Nearly all its members were Eupatridæ and aristocrats—and the tone of the court must at any rate have been eminently aristocratic, while their wishes and influence would incline to the support of aristocratic measures, and the maintenance of the supremacy of the aristocratic party. Thus the Areopagus threw into the scale adverse to popular liberties, the weight of eminent public services, the highest judicial office, great abilities, and practical knowledge of affairs, wealth, and the influence of large hereditary connections. It was not merely Cimon and the policy of Cimon, that was backed by this Supreme Court of Judicature, but all those retrograde tendencies in politics, which were calculated to abridge the dearly bought franchises of the people, and to bring back the masses to their earlier subjection to oligarchical domination. In addition to all this, the character of the court was utterly at variance with the general spirit and complexion of the Athenian constitution. It was a rigid, irresponsible, permanent oligarchy in the midst of a popular government and elective institutions: it was an appellate judicature, which rendered virtually null and invalid all the compromises and pledges of the constitution. It is by no means clearly ascertained what alterations or abridgements were introduced into the organization of the Areopagitic College, but we may judge of its earlier power from its arbitrary and irresponsible procedure even in the decline of the State, after its ancient functions had been restored by the Decree of Tisamenus.* Aristotle explicitly and positively characterizes it, in more places than one, as an oligarchical institution:† and Plutarch informs us that this was the charge brought against it by the supporters of Ephialtes.‡ None but the partizans of Cimon, or those

* The Decree is given by Andocides. *De Myst.* § 12. *Orat. Att. Ed.* Dobson, i. p. 257.

† *Aristot. Pol.* ii. c. 12. v. c. 4.

‡ *Plutarch Præcept. Reip.* Ger. 9. 213.

whose eyes are blinded by Tory prejudices, like Mitford's, can hesitate to assent to the remark of Hermann, that "its office was, in principle, directly opposed to an absolute democracy, and must have appeared formidable to the partizans of that form, from the indefinite and arbitrary nature of the merely moral power, on which its authority was founded, and which rendered it impracticable clearly to define the extent of its influence."* We have in our country an institution in some respects strikingly analogous to the Athenian Areopagus, and from the pernicious results of our own establishment we may estimate the obstructions which an oligarchical judicature must have constantly raised to the movement of Athenian freedom. The Supreme Court of the United States, from the mode in which its members are appointed, from the independent tenure of their office, from their acceptance of their seats on the Bench as the rewards of political service, from their relation to the Federal Government, and their obligations to the Federal Executive, is naturally predisposed to favour those arbitrary constructions of the Constitution, which strengthen the hands of the central power, and extend the influence of the General Government, at the expense of the rights of the separate State Sovereignities. From the sophistical interpretations of constitutional law, which have been elaborated in the Supreme Court, to the serious injury of the political interests and rights of the States, we may readily conceive how utterly intolerable must have been the authority of a like Court at Athens, with similar or even worse tendencies, checked by fewer restraints, and interfering more frequently and directly in questions both of domestic and foreign policy.

A strong illustration of the important aid lent by the Areopagus to the oligarchical faction at Athens, is afforded by the tenacity with which the latter endeavoured to perpetuate the privileges of the former, and by the shameful outrages with which they endeavoured to revenge their abrogation. They commenced treasonable intrigues with the Spartan army in Bæotia, and it was doubtless at their instigation that Aristodicus of Tanagra assassinated Ephialtes, who had been the most prominent man in the attempt to abridge the dangerous powers of their court.

* Hermann. Pol. Ant. Gr. § 109.

It is by no means certain what share Pericles took in the proceedings against the Areopagus. Ephialtes is sometimes regarded as merely his tool, which is inconsistent with all probability, and sometimes he is represented as a mere subaltern to Ephialtes, which is scarcely more probable. Whatever may have been the respective shares of these two eminent men in the accomplishment of this great measure, the liberal policy was secured, the Areopagus was humbled, and the democratic institutions of Athens were at length rendered homogeneous after the arduous struggles of centuries.

Released from the pernicious measures of Cimon, and the ascendancy of a body whose wishes were at variance with the wishes and the interests of the community, the Athenian democracy entered unshackled on its career of freedom. To all outward appearance its prospects were eminently flattering, but a keen and observant eye might have already detected the germination of those seeds of evil, which were afterwards to produce such a fatal harvest. It was blessed indeed in the wisdom and integrity of Pericles, a leader such as few political parties have ever had the good fortune of following. The aristocrats did, indeed, after the death of Cimon, attempt to oppose his brother-in-law, Thucydides, to the ascendancy of Pericles, but the opposition was productive of no important results, and was soon crushed by the increasing power of Pericles, who thenceforward held almost supreme power in the State.

It would detain us too long to recount minutely and chronologically the subsequent career of Pericles; nor is it necessary for us to do so; it is sufficiently familiar to all from the endless essays which have been written on the subject, and still more from the fascination of his brilliant course, which has ensured the perusal of those essays. All that it is still necessary for us to do, is to examine and estimate the aims and policy of his administration. We leave his military exploits to be gathered from the pages of history—his eloquence to be learnt from the testimony of Plato and Eupolis, and Aristophanes—his urbanity and integrity to be recognized from the homage of Thucydides and the garrulity of Plutarch. The description of the noble works of art which he reared, must be sought for in Pliny, and in Stuart, and Revett; we have left ourselves no space for the discussion of any topics but

those bearing directly on the political administration of Pericles.

The great object of Pericles, which inspired his whole public action and circumscribed all particular aims, was to elevate Athens to that position which he conceived her deserving and capable of occupying. To make her the microcosm of Grecian civilization—to render her the Greece of Greece, and to confer upon her in all the departments of practical and intellectual energy the richest bloom of Grecian genius—this was the one leading passion of Pericles. He was ambitious to be himself the glorious instrument in the attainment of this glorious result, but he entertained no dream of aggrandizement for himself, which was not linked with the aspiration and the conviction of greater aggrandizement for his country. His celebrated Funeral Oration, which Thucydides has imitated or recorded, represents a people such as Pericles had pictured the Athenians in his own imagination, and such as he had laboured to render them. All his political hopes and aims are portrayed in that master-piece of eloquence as consummated realities—and from the result which he had produced, or fancied that he had produced, we may turn back to review his political career.

The native genius, and the naturally generous impulses of the Athenian people, were as indubitable as their pre-eminent grace and symmetry of form. They had known the blessings of freedom, and knowing, had loved them; for the maintenance of their own independence and that of Greece, they had staked their existence and their fortunes on a single cast of the die. Their manly daring had reaped a glorious reward. The jealousy of Sparta, powerfully seconded by an influential party in the State, whose selfishness or apprehensions advocated a retrograde policy, opposed the free development of Athenian energy. But the irresistible will of a free people had triumphed over the obstacles which impeded their course, and hailed in Pericles a leader worthy of all confidence and honour. How did he respond to the trust reposed in him, when that trust had given him the control of the State?

The main duties of a statesman may, perhaps, be adequately comprised in the following summary: to maintain the integrity of the State, and defend it from the attacks of all enemies; to preserve the constitution in its purity, and permit only those reforms which adopt it more

effectually to the necessities of the time ; to stimulate and develop the energies of the people and the resources of the country in accordance with the genius of the constitution ; to preserve order at home and command respect abroad ; to uphold morality and religion, and especially to encourage those virtues which minister to the welfare and permanence of the community ; to refine, enlighten and elevate the citizens ; to improve and enforce the laws ; to diffuse as widely as possible among the whole population, material comforts and intellectual and moral advantages ; and, above all, to keep himself pure and untainted in the administration of his high duties, and sincere in his devotion to the best interests of his country.

If we examine the public conduct of Pericles with reference to each of these obligations, we cannot refuse to admit that his aims all tended to their realization, though we may possibly doubt, in some instances, the efficacy of the policy by which he sought their accomplishment.

When he received the helm of State, Athens was the acknowledged head of the naval confederacy, still engaged in prosecuting the war with Persia. This, which had at first been forced upon the Greeks by the necessity of self-defence, was prolonged in the same spirit to guard against the recurrence of a like peril. It was vigorously continued by Pericles, though the disasters in Egypt, the revolt of allied States, and the war excited by the jealousy and treachery of Sparta, induced Pericles to change the direction of his efforts, and instead of undertaking expeditions against the provinces of Persia, to endeavour to consolidate the Athenian Empire, and to present an unbroken front on the shores of Asia Minor, and an impassable barrier along the Islands of the *Ægean* to Persian ambition.

Pericles, notwithstanding his high military reputation, seems to have been sincerely desirous of avoiding war, in order that he might advance the greatness of the Athenian people by the cultivation of the arts of peace. His forbearance, his recall of Cimon, and the consequent negotiation of the five years' truce—his own negotiation of the thirty years' truce, his long postponement of the Peloponnesian war, by the bribery of the Spartan Ephor, Cleandrides, all indicate this. But the circumstances of the times allowed him no choice, except by the base conciliation of Sparta, and the sacrifice both of the dignity

and safety of Athens, and such an alternative Pericles was certain of rejecting, especially as the designs of traitors at home could only be frustrated by presenting a bold front to the perfidious hostility of Sparta and its Peloponnesian allies. This war was prosecuted with various success, and although it seriously taxed the resources of the State, it was conducted in such a manner as to confer new lustre upon Athens. The field of Tanagra, which had been lost by the treasonable spirit in the camp and the defection of the Thessalian cavalry, was nobly redeemed by the victory of Myronides at Œenophyta; and the gallant exploit of the same brave old general in the Megarid, together with the conquest of Ægina by Leocrates, rendered this period eminently illustrious.

The peace negotiated by Cimon was of scarcely perceptible duration, but his victory over the Persians at Cyprus, obliterated, in some measure, the disasters of the Egyptian campaigns: the rapid marches and omnipresence of Pericles, afforded brilliant illustration of his military genius; and his subjugation of Eubœa and the Megarid, notwithstanding the menaces of a Peloponnesian army, amply atoned for the fatal defeat at Coronea, attributable to the rashness of Tohnidas, and his disregard of the warnings of Pericles.

The reduction of Samos occurred in the earlier years of the long truce. We are disposed to justify this measure on the grounds given by Thucydides, and possibly assumed by Pericles himself. Whatever might have been the inception of the supremacy of Athens, it had become a national necessity to her, and the only security for Greece. The system of coercing refractory allies was introduced in the case of Naxos, not by Pericles, but by Cimon; and the expeditions of the former against Samos, were but in furtherance of the policy begun by Cimon, which it was too late to abandon with safety. To permit a large, populous, warlike and wealthy Island, abundantly supplied with vessels of war, to defy the supremacy of Athens, would have ensured the contempt and the defection of all the other tributaries, and would have exposed Attica without allies to the malignant hostility of the surrounding States, while it would have left Greece in its distractions an easy prey to Persia, or any foreign invader.

It is difficult, at this late day, to justify fully the alliance

of Athens with Corcyra, but there are many circumstances, only obscurely revealed to us, which might have constituted strong and sufficient inducements at the time. The declarations of Thucydides indicate the certain imminence of the Peloponnesian war; and with such a prospect before him, the course of Pericles might have been not merely expedient, but absolutely necessary. He, at least, had long foreseen the approach of a general war between the allies of Athens and of Sparta, under the conduct of these States; he had prolonged, as far as might be, the period of doubtful peace; he had nursed and husbanded the resources of Athens for the struggle; and, with the calm confidence of strength and full preparation, availing himself of every advantage which might be presented, he awaited the bursting of the storm.

The war came, and, after its long course, of twenty-seven years, it left Athens prostrate, her liberties crushed, her ships sunk or surrendered, her walls dismantled. There is every reason, however, to believe that Athens would have issued victorious from the struggle, but for two calamities, which no wisdom could have averted. The plague, which appeared in the second year of the war, decimated the army, and demoralized as well as dispirited the citizens; and, among the last of its victims, it carried off Pericles, who, alone, could have "ridden upon the whirlwind and guided the storm."

After the death of Pericles, the growing depravity of Athenian manners was deepened and perpetuated by the ascendancy of Cleon, Andocides, Phæax, and the demagogues who succeeded them, and the resources, as well as the armies of the State, were squandered in the fatal expedition to Sicily, which Alcibiades had fatally suggested and urged. It was not the Peloponnesian war, in itself, which produced the decline of Athens, but the fatal incidents of the plague, the death of Pericles, the rise of the demagogues, the losses in Sicily, and the subsequent, and, in great measure, consequential calamities of the war.

But it may be said that the rise of the demagogues and the debasement of the people should be attributed to the measures and policy of Pericles. We cannot but regard this judgment as equally harsh and unjust. Such things may be, and, indeed, are, the necessary ultimatum to which all democracies tend; but their advent was expe-

dited by the melancholy casualties which we have mentioned, not by Pericles. If the political maxim just laid down be true, the result was certain, from the days of Solon, or, at least, from the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ. It does indeed appear to us more probable that Pericles foresaw and arrested this tendency, and that his long ascendancy postponed the rise of the demagogues to power, and that the general tenor of his administration was calculated to prolong the purer principles of government and to quicken the virtuous habits of the people. Epicydes was a demagogue before the battle of Salamis, and the careful student of Athenian history may discover, long before the supremacy of Pericles, the evidence of those vices, which blossomed, after his death, into such fatal luxuriance.

The measures of Pericles, which have been charged with the ruin of Athens, were either in continuation of the policy begun by his predecessors, which could not safely be abandoned, or they were legitimate developments of the democratic institutions of the State, and imperatively demanded by the times. We except, of course, those measures which affected the tributary States from any reference to the form of domestic policy. His measures were, moreover, calculated to develop the energies and resources of the people, to stimulate their virtues, or to refine their tastes. His policy may not have been adapted to a state of ideal perfection—it may not comport with our dreamy imaginations of what it ought to have been ; but the practical statesman, unfortunately, has no choice of abstractions submitted to him ; he is rigorously tied down by the spirit of the constitution and the temper of his countrymen ; he must adapt his government equally to the requirements, associations and wishes of the governed ; most especially is he compelled to do this in a democracy ; and he can only so far modify the habitual routine of the past, as he can harmonize his alterations to the wants and feelings of the people. He has to deal with a subject hopelessly intractable, if he attempt any thing at variance with its feelings and habits ; and tractable only to a limited extent, if his own views are in unison with them. Pericles could not, if he had desired it, have destroyed the democratic aspirations and tendencies of the Athenian people ; he could only modify them,

in their development, so as to avert or retard the perils, and increase the practicable good—and this he did do, with the most signal success.

We did design to examine separately the leading measures of Pericles, all of which have met with reprehension from one quarter or another; and we think we could readily show that they were either dictated by an absolute necessity, or were calculated, so far as human wisdom could foresee, to be productive of important benefits. In many instances, we should have been able to show their direct efficacy in giving to the character and career of the people of Athens that renown in their own days, and that fascination in ours, which has insured to them immortality, the distinction of being, what Pericles desired, the Greece of Greece. But this pleasant continuation of our labours we must forego, as we have already transcended the limits which we had prescribed to ourselves. Perhaps we might venture to refer, for an exposition of the views which we are unable here to express, to the letter of Polemarchus, in the February number of the Southern Literary Messenger. Having commenced this essay by alluding to the letter of Bulis, we may not improperly close it by referring to the response.

ART. III.—AMERICUS VESPUCIUS.

1. *Researches respecting Americus Vespucius and his Voyages.* By the Viscount SANTAREM, Ex-Prime Minister of Portugal, Member of the Institute of France, etc., etc., etc. Translated by E. V. CHILDE. Boston. 1850.
2. *The Life and Voyages of Americus Vespucius*, with illustrations concerning the navigator and the discovery of the New World. By C. EDWARDS LESTER and ANDREW FOSTER. New-York. 1846.

COLUMBUS died in 1506; Vespucius in 1512. In the year which followed the death of the former, the attempt was first publicly made to ascribe to Vespucius the prior discovery of the new continent or terra firma, and to impose upon it the name of America. Indeed, we need not

scruple to say that Americus Vespucius arrogated these honours, and is chargeable, from his writings, with all the confusion long involving the merit of his voyages, and with the controversies that, during more than three centuries, have turned the souls of many from the admiration and gratitude which constitute now the chief reward of the noble discoverer of the western hemisphere. We are aware that nothing can invalidate the glories of Columbus, and that the claims of Vespucius are rapidly receding to their proper place among the curiosities of literature. Still, we desire to enter into a brief review of the volumes before us, for the sake of several interesting points, on which they afford us materials for substituting satisfactory conclusions, in the place of general opinions, entertained since the period of our school days.

Besides the epistles of Vespucius, the publication which principally increased the circulation of his reputed discoveries, and enhanced the success of his usurpations, was the "Introduction to Cosmography, respecting the four maritime expeditions of Americus Vespucius," printed at Saint Diey, in Lorraine, in 1507. Ilacomilus is the pseudonym of its author, whom Humboldt supposes to have been the geographer Waldseemüller, a man, in all probability, personally acquainted with Vespucius, and having also full knowledge of the published letters of Columbus, (of which three editions had at that time appeared,) and of the achievements of other distinguished navigators, under whom his favourite had held but an inferior station. Yet he recommends, after speaking of Europe, Asia and Africa, that the fourth division of the world should be called "America," after Vespucius, whom he regards as its true discoverer. "It was an obscure man," says Humboldt, "who invented the name of America, and who proposed it in his work, called, 'Cosmographiæ Introductio, insuper quatuor Americi Vespucii navigationes,' which name Apian, Vadianus and Camers have since widely spread through Strasburg, Friburg and Vienna, while the prodigious celebrity of the little book of Apian has propagated the evil, by innumerable editions, in Holland and elsewhere." But from whatever source, and with whatsoever design, originated the appellation of America, contemporary historians did not so entitle the new continent, nor is the name inscribed upon any chart or map prepared within twenty-eight years after the first great

voyage across the Atlantic.* It is called by historical, and many of the early geographical writers, "the New World," "the Indies," "Western India," etc.; while the research of Robertson shows Gomara, Oviedo, Herrera, Martyr and Benzoni, (the two last countrymen of Vespucius,) ascribing the discovery to Columbus, opposing the claims of Vespucius, or accusing him of deception and falsehood; and, to his opponents we must add, in particular, the historian Las Casas, who, anticipating the severe strictures of posterity, spoke of "that which Americus wrote to obtain a name, and to appropriate, by tacit usurpation, the discovery of Terra Firma."

It is indisputable, that the first charts referring to the coast of the Terra Firma were made by Columbus, and used as guides in subsequent explorations. Ojeda testified that he "saw the chart sent by the Admiral to the king and queen of Castile," and Bernaldo de Ibarro, that he had copied a letter for Columbus, to the same personages, "designating, in an accompanying sea-chart, the courses, and steerings, and winds, by which he had arrived at Paria [a part of the continent]; and that this witness had heard that from this chart others had been made, and by these had sailed Pedro Alonzo Nino, and Ojeda, and others, who had since visited these parts." (Irving's Columbus, Ninth Appendix.) Cabral, the Portuguese discoverer of Brazil, in 1500, had given to this part of the continent the name of Terra Sanctæ Crucis, or Santa Cruz, which was inscribed on maps published at Rome in 1508, at Venice in 1511, in the first edition of Peter Martyr, in the same year, in a map at Strasburg

* It has been frequently stated, and is generally believed, that Vespucius himself named the continent America, in charts prepared by his own hand, or under his direction. There is no evidence of this, although it is true that he did make charts, on his return to Europe. The name was first used after the death of Columbus, and in the following sentence of Ilacomilus: "Nunc vero et hæ partes sunt latius lustratæ, et alia quarta pars, per Americum Vespucium, ut in sequentibus audietur, inventa est; quam non video cur quis jure vetet ab Americo inventore, sagacis ingenii viro, Amerigem quasi Americi terram sive Americam dicendam, cum et Europa et Asia a mulicribus sua sortitæ sint nomina." The name was also used in 1514, in a letter of Vadianus, a Swiss scholar. Vide Lester's Life, etc., p. 250. The statement, that the name was given to the continent by the royal order of Ferdinand, is disproved by Santarem, p. 148. Another mistake supposes the name to be a consequence of Vespucius' having first appeared before the public in narrations of the New World. The earliest publication of his composition was in 1504, (see Sant., p. 73, note,) while the name and letters of Columbus were familiar throughout Europe from 1493.

in 1513, and in a map entitled *Orbis Typus Universalis*; while, in many others, if this name is not found, there is at least nothing which bears allusion to Americus Vespucius. Especially must we notice the chart of Cosa, in 1500; the author of this "precious geographical monument, drawn upon a parchment more than fifteen feet square," "was the companion of Columbus in his second voyage, and of Hojeda and Vespucius in their expedition of 1499-1500. Juan de la Cosa was so skillful, that he esteemed himself superior, in nautical knowledge, even to Columbus, and in all which concerned discoveries he was such an adept, that every thing new immediately found a place in his map. Is it probable, then, that he who affixed to one point of the coast the name of its discoverer, would have failed to attach the name of Vespucius, his fellow voyager, to another, if indeed any part of the new continent had been discovered by the Florentine?" In none of the maps or charts, which can be termed ancient, does the name of America occur, until the appearance of the World Map of Apian, in 1520, in which "*America Provincia*" is inscribed upon the lower part only; and, what is remarkable, the name occurs in no other distinct work before 1533, when there appears also a great diversity in the nomenclature, according to the fluctuating opinions of geographers—a circumstance indicating the struggle between the claims of Columbus, Cabral, Coelho and others, and of the presumptuous Florentine. In the volume before us (Santarem) we read, p. 158, "In a chart which was engraved about the year 1562, the south part of the new continent is designated *Peruviana*. In another, engraved towards the year 1565, by Paolo Forlani, a Veronese, the new continent appears without the name America; and, on a very badly translated Map of the World, in an atlas dated 1567, the charts of which are drawn and illuminated on vellum, it does not go by that name, while the Portuguese portion is termed Brazil." Bordoni, an Italian, a contemporary of Vespucius, and who acquired great renown for his work relating to the New World, designated the southern part of the continent (in editions of 1528, '32 and '47,) by the name imposed upon it by Cabral. In various maps, published in different parts of Europe, there is no fixed and uniform denomination applied to the new continent: and when the name of America is found, alone

or in conjunction with other appellations, there is very frequently an explanatory note, referring to Columbus as the first discoverer. The name "America," indeed, continued a matter of dispute in cartography, even towards the middle of the *seventeenth* century. It is out of the question, to suppose that a limited honour was intended for Vesputius, by calling a part only of the whole land discovered after his name, as "Provincia," or "America sive Insula Brazilii," or "Insula Atlantica quam vocant Brazilii et Americam:" for we have seen, in the original proposition, that a fourth part of the whole world was the object to be denominated; and if it had been less, still that less was due to a greater and a worthier man.

It would fill many pages of this Review, were we to trace, from the authorities collected by Santarem, the conflicting accounts of those who, from partiality, false convictions, or inadvertent copying from preceding writers, assisted in propagating the pretensions of Vesputius, till at length his name became unalterably fixed upon the whole western continent—a result, we will not yet say, of mendacious letters and ambitious schemes—but a magnificent result, that potentates might have envied and genius sighed for—an everlasting result, more than sufficient to satisfy the soul of him who said, in reference to a less important occasion, "I have often sacrificed my slumber, and my life I have shortened by ten years—a sacrifice which, in the hope of obtaining a renown which shall last for ages, I do not regret." (Letter of Vesputius, Sant., p. 195.)

We will better understand how, after such a struggle, this result was finally occasioned, by noticing several subjects in the history of the times. The incipency of favouritism, to one or another of the early voyagers, may be naturally traced to the national prejudices and rivalries of the maritime States of Southern Europe. In Italy especially, enmities which the neighbourhood of the Holy See failed to alleviate, caused petty principalities and sections to be jealous of, and to asperse the glories of, each other. The reader of Machiavelli would unhesitatingly prejudge that, if at the close of the fifteenth century the reputations of a Florentine and of a Genoese should come in conflict, adherents would appear for each, whose zeal would never spring from love of truth alone. Subsequent histories would verify this judgment, and Spain and Por-

tugal would be found in advance of the Italian States, in discussions wherein their higher renown was brought into dispute. Another fact we should bear in mind. When the great problem had been solved, and Columbus sat, like a crowned monarch, in the presence of mighty sovereigns, there was a multitudinous outpouring from camp and court, from cities, towns, and country hamlets, of adventurers, roused to deeds of romantic peril, and eager to stake both life and fortune in their wild dreams of avarice or ambition. At every fresh arrival from across the western waters, priests and peasants, old men, women and children, listened with astonishment to strange and marvellous revelations. All Europe was excited. In our day, California's glittering banks and wide-spread regions of scattered gold have suddenly called into one—a *State* must we name it?—a heterogeneous conglomeration of different races, nations and tongues, while trains of emigrants, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, move along a pathway indicated by broken wagons, relics of disastrous chances, and by the frequent monuments of the dead. This is, perhaps, a feeble comparison with the ungovernable excitement which prevailed in Europe after the discovery of the West Indies, and urged on its thousands to riches and honour, or to untimely destruction. Such an excitement, it is true, could not last long. But in the failure of ardent anticipations of beds of pearl, and Ophir's golden hills, extravagant hopes were still fostered, in the extensive range that was left for speculation and enterprize. Impostors, too, were in those days. "It must here be remarked, (Sant., p. 125,) that towards the end of the fifteenth century, as Bossi says, the discoveries made by the Portuguese had exalted the imaginations of all men, so that *savans*, statesmen, *merchants as well as common sailors*, all talked of discoveries, and all aspired to add to the number of them; *likewise, that there was no lack of charlatans* in the cause of navigation, *nor of impostors*, who spread abroad their fabulous accounts, to gain credit with the merchants, by flattering their avarice, and piqued the curiosity of the common people, always so greedy of novelty. They even wormed their way into courts, where they met with favour and protection." "The history of forgers of all sorts of memorials would form by itself an immense collection of volumes, and especially the history of those belonging to the fifteenth and six-

teenth centuries, in which would appear a number of *savans* that became their victims." (p. 68.) We should also bear in mind that, although international communication and the transmission of intelligence between individuals were much more easy and general than we might imagine, yet the popular means of discussion and refutation of errors, forgeries, or deliberate false statements, can not at all be compared with those which we now possess. It required, then, a longer time to check the propagation of an error, particularly if once spread beyond the limits of the nation immediately affected by it. France, Germany and England had much to do in fixing irremediably the appellation of the western continent. And in the fatherland itself of the discoverers, it was not a difficult matter, when the universal spirit of the people was aroused, when credulity itself could scarcely be sated, with most exaggerated accounts of the New World, when secret, as well as public expeditions were sent forth, and books of voyages and explorations, and printed and manuscript letters were widely circulated, it was not a difficult matter that a cunningly devised imposture should have been credited, and should have obtained so deep root in existing sectional prejudices, that the efforts of truth could not, for several generations, tear it from its hold, and make manifest its radical unrighteousness.

It is stated by Santarem, that more than three thousand works have been written upon the history and geography of the new continent, and upon the expeditions which took place between 1492 and 1540. Many of these are controversial. But what profits controversy, when the true sources of information are not investigated, and words accumulated upon words entangle in still greater confusion the verities and falsehoods of history. "Previously to the year 1825, the discussions which appeared concerning the new continent were rather matters of mere erudition than historical treatises upon positive facts. But then was brought forth one of the most important memorials of modern times, which shed a new light upon many points of the highest interest, and opened to the world documents hitherto unedited, of great value, respecting the earliest stages of discovery of the new continent. We here allude to the work of our very learned friend, M. de Navarrete, which has brought to the acquaintance of *savans* an enormous quantity of documentary matter

and new opinions, by means of which may be entirely rewritten a large portion of the history of the new continent, as it was known to us before this important production. Following the production of M. de Navarrete, came the interesting *Life of Columbus*, by Mr. Washington Irving; and, not long ago, M. de Humboldt published the result of his erudite labours." (Sant., p. 6.) Mr. Lester, during his residence at Genoa, as United States Consul, entered into some investigations concerning Vesputius, became acquainted with some of his descendants, interested himself in their behalf with our government, received from them a present of an original portrait of their famous ancestor, engaged Mr. Foster to assist him in the preparation of his work, followed chiefly the eulogists Canovai and Bandini, and has left the merits of his hero where he found them, unprotected and unsubstantiated. We have used his book merely for the letters of Vesputius, which we believe are therein for the first time placed within the reach of American readers.

To present at once the character of the little work of Santarem, and the labourious research of its author, we quote the following passages, pp. 119, 13, 24.

"Neither in the original chancelleries (*chancellarias originæ*) of the king, Don Manuel, from 1495 to 1503, inclusive, nor in the 82,902 documents of the chronological records, (*Corpo chronologico*), or the 6,095 of the chest records, (*Corpo das gavetas*), nor yet in the numerous letters missive, from kings, princes and other personages—letters deposited in the royal archives—have we found the slightest mention of the name of Vesputius, or of those of Giulano del Giocondo and Bartolomeo del Giocondo. We ought to add, that we have never encountered the name of Vesputius in the exceedingly valuable collection of manuscripts belonging to the Royal Library of Paris, which we examined during our stay in that city."

"It is very remarkable, be it observed, that not only are the documents of the collections, exceeding one hundred thousand in number, which we have consulted and cited, perfectly silent in respect to him, but also that the registers and maps belonging to king Emmanuel are equally so."

"We have explained, by an examination of the oldest and most rare collections of voyages, what weight was given to the report of Vesputius's pretended discoveries, by means of fraudulent title pages; and, with contemporary works in hand, unedited manuscripts and documents, very lately drawn from public archives, we have made known how many false judgments have been pronounced on Vesputius and his fabulous voyages."

It is to be regretted, however, that, with such additional contributions, from sources inaccessible to the majority of students, and with means of elucidation sufficient to excite renewed interest in a topic almost obsolete, the Ex-Prime Minister of Portugal, after more than twenty-four years' attention to the subject, has contented himself with so confused and illogical an arrangement, as to leave us somewhat perplexed, in the midst of an unconnected series of certainties. In perusing the work, we were reminded of having studied, while at college, faithfully into the middle of a treatise on integral and differential calculus. The propositions we believed, from the demonstrations, to be mathematically true, but could not judge to what the sum of the truths applied, or what was the definite object of the treatise. "Does not the preface inform you," said the Professor. "No sir." "It relates, then," he replied, with a countenance like a triangle, "to the higher branches of astronomy." So, too, the Viscount Santarem's book, incomplete in itself, relates to something of a higher aim, which he has not yet attained. It consists of "several detached pieces," which had before appeared, and "many additions" thereto, and is but preparatory, he tells us, to a more methodical and extensive treatise. When this shall have been produced, though it may not rank, in the logic of historical criticism, with the labours of a Macintosh, Thierry or Humboldt, yet, we doubt not, it will place beyond future controversy the subject of its erudite discussion.

We would be compelled to skip hither and thither, and to gyrate for hours among the pages of the work, as it stands, were we to attempt a clear summary of its contents, on the claim of Vespucius to the prior discovery of the Terra Firma. This question resolves itself into an inquiry concerning the disputed voyage of 1497, and, without taking into view numerous points arising in such an inquiry, we will address ourselves at once to what we regard the strongest argument against the fact of the said voyage, and to which our author has devoted, in the diversity of his proofs, by far too slight a consideration.

It is certain that Vespucius crossed the Atlantic as a passenger, or, at least, without any recognized official capacity, in an expedition commanded by Ojeda, and under the pilot Juan de la Cosa. This expedition sailed from Spain in 1499. Columbus had sailed upon his third

voyage, May 30th, 1498, and on 1st August reached the continent. This is proved by a letter of Columbus, still extant, and by the testimony of Ojeda and others. In December, of the same year, the news of this discovery was published in Spain, and led to the above mentioned voyage of Ojeda and Vesputius, which was sent out by Fonseca, undoubtedly for the secret purpose of circumscribing the claims of Columbus. Cabot, however, had sailed from England, and discovered the Terra Firma of North America on 24th June, 1497. Now we find a letter of Americus Vesputius, relating the particulars of a voyage, which he said he made in 1497, on the faith of which rests his claim of priority to Columbus, and even to Cabot.

There is but one letter—that addressed to Soderini—which contains the relation in question.* When was this letter written? In the translated copy, in Lester, its introduction shows that it was *written after* Vesputius's so-called fourth voyage, undertaken in 1503. The letter gives an account of all his voyages, and is subscribed, "Dated in Lisbon the 4th September, 1504." It was published after the death of Columbus.† It is proper to notice here that it was forbidden by law that any stranger should trade with the trans-Atlantic possessions of Spain, and that Vesputius did not receive naturalization in Spain until 1505. His hardihood in recounting an illegal act—if it had really been committed, and he the chief director of it—is excused by his eulogists, on the ground of the

* A previous letter to (perhaps) Lorenzo di Pier-Francesco de Medici, concerning the voyage with Ojeda, dated July 18th, 1500, begins, "It is a long time since I have written to your Excellency," which is supposed by his panegyrists to refer to the voyage of 1497. No proof can be adduced in support of this supposition. The sentence can as well have reference to a communication of an entirely different nature, especially as it is undetermined to whom the letter is really addressed.

† As I understand M. de Santarem, speaking of the letter dated Cape Vert, June 4th, 1501, giving an account of his third voyage, he says it "first appeared in 1504, and then again in 1505," that during the year 1507—after the death of Columbus—"it was presented in the famous *Cosmographiæ Introductio* of Ilacomilus, *together with an account of the four pretended voyages of the Florentine*;" that Columbus could have taken no offence at the publication of Vesputius's "first voyage, that is, the one made under the command of Hojeda, when this captain did not go to the new continent till subsequently to himself. Did he not know that such a publication could do no harm to his glory, since it was impossible for him to foresee that facts would be falsified after his death." p. 199. The same inference is drawn from the language of Santarem, p. 176.

letters, not being intended for publication. But we shall see, by the contents of the letter, that the voyage, if it had been made, must have been known throughout Spain. If, on the other hand, it had been made by authority of the king, what was the motive of concealment, and how can we explain the absence of all State documents relating to it? If the answer be that the whole affair was one of secrecy, and ordered by Ferdinand through envy of Columbus, it must have been with the view of weakening the claims of the Admiral. But why, then, after being made known by the indiscretion of Vesputius, was it entirely overlooked in the trial to defeat these claims, when every effort was made by the crown to extract proofs against the priority of Columbus's discovery, from the expedition of Ojeda, which had been sent out by Ferdinand *with precisely the same object?*

The authenticity of the letter has never been doubted. It was published, too, during the lifetime of its author, and years elapsed without contradiction from him. Its contents are chiefly details of the customs of the Indians, and matters that do not tend to particularize the period of navigation, or to distinguish the voyage from other expeditions of the time. We will present a few sentences, which appear to us most explicit in showing the pretension of its statements and in enabling us to judge of its veracity. "In the year of our Lord, 1497, on the tenth day of May, as before stated, we left the port of Cadiz, with four ships in company." "We sailed so rapidly, that, at the end of twenty-seven days, we were in sight of land, which we judged to be a continent." On this they disembarked. Let us observe that, by this statement, the continent was reached *fourteen days before the discovery by Cabot*. In an attack on the natives of Hayti, Vesputius says, "We disembarked in four squares, being fifty-seven men, each captain with his own men, and engaged them in battle." Who were these captains, and why are all names but his own suppressed? The portion of the letter relating to this voyage concludes thus, "We also set sail for Spain, with two hundred and twenty-two prisoners, slaves, and arrived in the port of Cadiz on the fifteenth day of October, 1498,"—six or seven weeks before the arrival of the news of Columbus's discovery,—"where we were well received, and found a market for our slaves. This is what happened to me in

this, my first voyage, that may be considered worth relating." Vesputius does not here claim to have been the commander; but he implies that he was, in other allusions to this expedition. The external arguments against the truth of this letter, viz: the public records, the silence of the chroniclers of the times, the proof that Vesputius *was employed on land till 1499*, and also the arguments against its contents, as to dates and facts, the personages to whom it is addressed, and of its being an antedated narration of the same incidents which occurred in the voyage of Ojeda, we will pass by, and direct our attention to the trial of 1512. To exhibit faithfully the bearing of this trial on the subject before us, we cannot do better than to rely upon Irving's investigations, contained in the appendix previously quoted.

About 1508, Don Diego, son and heir of Columbus, instituted a suit to recover a share of the revenue arising from certain parts of the continent and pearl islands, his claim being founded on the agreement between his father and the Spanish sovereigns. M. de Santarem states that the suit was begun by the king's treasury, against Don Diego. But however it originated, it was the object of the crown, in the trial, to disprove the discovery by Columbus. Ojeda and nearly a hundred other persons were examined on oath, in reference to this point, in 1512. The original proceedings of the court are still in existence. Irving had two different copies of the interrogatories lying before him while writing: one made by the historian Muñoz, the other in 1826, and signed by Josef de la Higuera y Lara, keeper of the general archives of the Indias in Seville. Ojeda was unfriendly to Columbus, and, being accompanied by Vesputius in his voyage, would certainly have known, and willingly have testified the fact, had Vesputius discovered the continent in 1497. On the contrary, he expressly declared that the coast had been discovered by Columbus, so also did Ibarro, who was a companion of Columbus, and Morales, a distinguished pilot, who had seen the chart of the coast which Columbus had made. "A cloud of witnesses, in this process, testify to the fact that Paria was first discovered by Columbus. Las Casas, who has been at the pains of counting them, says that the fact was established by twenty-five eye-witnesses and sixty ear-witnesses. Many of them testify also that the coast south of Paria,

and that extending west of the Island of Margarita, away to Venezuela, which Vesputio states to have been discovered by himself, in 1497, was first discovered by Ojeda, and had never before been visited, either by the Admiral "or any other christian whatever." Caravajal and numerous pilots of reputation and experience, affirmed that all the voyages of exploration to the Terra Firma had been made by those who had sailed with the Admiral, or, under his instructions and explanations, had followed the route demonstrated by him. "It would be a singular circumstance," continues Irving, "that none of these witnesses, many of whom must have sailed in the same squadron with Vesputio, along this strange coast, in 1499, should have known that he had discovered and explored it two years previously, if that had really been the case. What motive could he have for concealing the fact, and why, if they knew it, should they not proclaim it? Vesputio states his voyage, in 1497, to have been made with four caravals; that they returned in October, 1498, and that he sailed again, with two caravals, in May, 1499, (the date of Ojeda's departure). Many of the mariners would, therefore, have been present in both voyages. Why, too, should Ojeda and the other pilots govern themselves by the charts of Columbus, when they had a man on board so learned in nautical science, and who, from his own recent observation, was practically acquainted with the coast? Not a word, however, is mentioned of the voyage and discovery of Vesputio by any of the pilots, though *every other* voyager and discoverer is cited; nor does there appear even a seaman who has accompanied him in his asserted voyage." "Vesputio was living at Seville, in 1508, at the time of the commencement of this process, and for four years afterwards, a salaried servant of the crown. Many of the pilots and mariners must have been at hand, who sailed with him in his pretended enterprize. If this voyage had once been proved, it would completely have settled the question, as far as concerned the coast of Paria, in favour of the crown; yet no testimony appears ever to have been taken from Vesputio while living, and, when the interrogatories were made in the fiscal court, in 1512-13, not one of his seamen is brought up to give evidence. A voyage so important in its nature, and so essential to the question in dispute, *is not even alluded to*; while useless pains are taken to wrest

evidence from the voyage of Ojeda, undertaken at a subsequent period.”*

Join to this the elaborate investigations of Santarem, and especially of Humboldt, resulting in the conclusion that the *first* voyage of Vespucius was that undertaken with Ojeda, 1499, and we are compelled to believe that the pretended voyage of 1497 did not take place, and that, consequently, the letter recounting it is a deliberate forgery.

The book of M. de Santarem embraces chiefly a review and refutation of Canovai's defence of Vespucius, and researches upon the problematical voyages of 1501 and 1503, said to have been made for the king of Portugal. He has written as well in a spirit of patriotism, in vindicating the claims of his countryman, Cabral, as through a desire to establish the truth, and perhaps also to advance the reputation already deservedly his due, as an able expounder of many important subjects in early American history and geography.

These researches are arduous and perplexing. The enunciation of a single opinion might have cost the labour of many days, perhaps of months. For example: that Vespucius, in portions of his narrative of the voyage of 1497, copied from the memoir of Columbus, (Navarrete); that Columbus was regarded as the first discoverer of Terra Firma, in all maps and charts, till 1520, (Santarem); that the first voyage of Vespucius was probably made with Ojeda, his second with Vincente Yanes Pinzon, his third with nobody can say whom, and that which he calls his fourth with Coelho; and that the conjunction of the Moon and Mars must, by astronomical computation, have occurred on 23d August, 1499, and could not possibly have been witnessed in Pinzon's voyage, as asserted by Vespucius, (Humboldt). All such authoritative judgments, though on minute topics, form at length, around

* “Since the appearance of Mr. Irving's work, Señor Navarrete has published the third volume of his ‘Colecion de Viages y Descubrimientos,’ etc., containing, among other things, the original letters recording Vespucius's American voyages, illustrated by all the authorities and facts that could come within the scope of his indefatigable researches. The whole mass of testimony leads irresistibly to the conclusion, that Columbus is entitled to the glory of being the original discoverer of the southern continent, as well as islands of the western hemisphere.” Prescott's *Ferd. and Isab.*, vol. iii., p. 483, note.

some great event, an impregnable barrier, through which error can never afterwards force its way. How many authors, of our generation, averse to the labour of protracted examination, compose volume after volume, until their "works," simply in paper covers, are as weighty as the old ponderous tomes of Luther or of Newton, yet who never settle, for the student who comes after them, even one fact essential to science or the promotion of a truthful literature. They are useful, indeed, in diffusing light, but are not luminaries; reflectors, some of them, of dazzling brilliancy, that may be mistaken, without scrutiny, for the genuine flame. But, next to the man who discovers a new truth, as it is called, we honour him who establishes an old one forever, beyond the reach of confusion and doubt. His gift to learning is like a solid rock, wrought from the quarry, it might be, by years of toil, to be a foundation stone, to be built upon and to endure till the mighty monument of truth shall have reached the glories of heaven.

But all truths will not find a place in this monument; and among such as may fall with the rubbish at the base, is the truth that Americus Vespucius was a liar. And other truths, contributed with devotional enthusiasm, will, we fear, require a good deal of chipping before they will fit any part of the sublime structure, and among these may be some of the deductions of M. de Santarem.

We have neither time nor inclination to present the arguments of our author against the reputed Portuguese expeditions of Vespucius, in 1501 and 1503. His attacks, impugning, countervailing or destroying, are scattered throughout two hundred pages, and resemble a volley of small shot, poured in from all points. The effect of the discharge is thus detailed in his own report, p. 116.

"We have demonstrated, in the preceding chapters, 1. That not the slightest trace of Vespucius, nor a single document concerning him, or his problematical voyages of 1501 and 1503, is to be found in the royal archives of Portugal, notwithstanding all he says of himself, and of the invitation which king Emanuel gave him, on sending his letters patent; and, moreover, if he had spoken the truth, that such traces and documents should have existed in that national depository, at least while the historian Goes was living, in like manner as several documents concerning him are still extant, in the archives of Timancas and Seville. 2. That all the Portuguese historians and geographers of the sixteenth century have preserved

a profound silence respecting Vespucius and his fabulous voyages of 1501 and 1503. 3. That Italian, and even Tuscan writers, scrupulously honest, and contemporaries too of the event, have universally declared that Columbus was the first who discovered the new continent. And 4. We have shown, by a great many documents, and by critical analysis, the inconsistencies of Vespucius's narratives, and of the letters attributed to him. We have cited more than one hundred and fifty authorities, authors who wrote on voyages and discoveries, some of whom were contemporaries and others adepts in the science of geographical history. With Navarrete, we have exposed the absurdity of Vespucius's observations, the result of which would have been to put his vessels one hundred and sixty-five leagues in the interior of the continent! and have exhibited the inconsistency of his taking possession of newly-found lands in the name of the king of Spain, when, according to his own account, the expedition was ordered by the king of Portugal. We have made manifest the incoherence of his story, by which it would appear that the number of his vessels dwindled down to a solitary bark, with a crew of only four or five sailors; and that, after having accomplished in it a voyage of three hundred leagues, to Bahia, and a subsequent one of two hundred and sixty, he finished by leaving his vessel in port and returning to Lisbon! We have made evident the impossibility of his having written and addressed letters to a king who had been dead twenty-four years: and of his having been educated, as he pretends, in his dedication to René of Lorraine, with a prince who was forty-two years old at the time of his birth! We have proved that his letters could not have been addressed to René II., and have stated how difficult it is to believe that they were written either to Lorenzo Piero de Medici, called the Magnificent, who was no longer alive at the time of Vespucius's voyages, or to Lorenzo II., who had not, when the first of these took place, yet attained his eighth year! We have established, by the rules of true criticism, that a single essential defect, which, morally speaking, could not have slipped into an authentic document, evinces the falseness of the writing where it is found: and that, consequently, the important errors, both in history and chronology, which we have pointed out in the present case, conduce to a like conclusion. Equally true, too, is it, as we have shown, that an individual fact, which cannot be made to correspond with such and such personages and circumstances to which a document relates, is sufficient to condemn the said document as a forgery."

An impartial essay upon the life and character of Vespucius, based on a thorough examination of the reliable documents now in the possession of European scholars, would be an interesting and valuable contribution to the literature of our age, already pre-eminently distinguished

by masterly criticisms of the history and intellectual productions of all prior ages. What we ourselves know of Vesputius is from limited resources and conflicting evidence. A few prominent recollections of him are retained in our mind, such as are apt to follow a perusal rather than a study of books. His life was not marked by actions numerous and decisive enough to afford us easily an intelligible appreciation of his whole character. We would not presume to describe all his features, but could recognize his portrait if correctly drawn by another. That he was ambitious there can be no doubt. Wealth and renown in discovery appear to have been the chief objects of his ambition. As a mercantile agent, as a commissioned purveyor for vessels leaving Seville for the East Indies and the New World, he was shrewd, competent and energetic. Having a capacity for mathematics, and considerable acquirements in navigation and astronomy, his frequent intercourse with pilots and commanders of exploring expeditions led him to engage in trans-Atlantic discoveries, through which many of his acquaintances had gained distinction. The opportunities which he embraced of sailing three or four times to the western world, were turned to his advantage, in accounts of these strange regions, blended with the performances of others, with his own personal knowledge, and perhaps with all that could be gleaned from unlettered but experienced seamen. Unhappily, he yielded to the temptation of perverting facts and inventing fictions, to obtain more speedily the end of his ambition, and, as some silly great men, before and since, only showed that, in his eagerness for immortality, he would not have refused the wreath of glory, although a lie, in gaining it, were proved upon his soul. His superior education, the charm of his detailed novelties, on a subject of vast interest and excitement, the circulation of his letters, and his consequent reputation and advancement, giving fruition to his long-cherished desires, and securing to him the means of patronage to others, are a sufficient explanation of the position he enjoyed in the estimation of his adherents and among the renowned offspring of the city of Florence. High in intellect, deficient in morals, his success in deceit, with its everlasting endurance, will ever bring to him less of glory than of retribution. Strange to say, his letters of falsehoods breathe also a spirit of religious devotion. But

this fact does not militate against our conception of his character, for it was the religion of Spain of the fifteenth century ; it was the religion—if we must call it so—of the knight who, on the field of murderous battle, offered his dying prayer to the bloody cross-hilt of his sword ; it was the religion of Pizarro, while he was preparing his treacherous banquet for the Inca of Peru ; it was the religion of Cortez, while he stood within the chamber of gold in the palace of Montezuma.

ART. IV.—DIVERSITY OF THE RACES ; ITS BEARING UPON NEGRO SLAVERY.

1. *Letter to the Rev. John Bachman, on the question of Hybridity in Animals, considered in reference to the Unity of the Human Species.* By SAMUEL GEORGE MORTON, M.D.
2. *Additional Observations on Hybridity of Animals, etc.* From the Charleston Medical Journal and Review. By SAMUEL GEORGE MORTON, M.D.
3. *Article on the "Diversity of Origin of the Human Species."* From the Christian Examiner, July, 1850. By Prof. AGASSIZ.
4. *The Races of Men : a Fragment.* By ROBERT KNOX, M.D.

Slavery—We are not afraid of the word, although Lord Carlisle, (late Morpeth,) in a recent lecture upon America, speaks of "what they (South-Carolinians) term their *peculiar institution*, which is their euphonious description of slavery." The honourable gentleman has, like most of his predecessors in the travelling and book-making line, jumped at some sudden and frequently rather fantastic conclusions. We are not, we believe, so mealy-mouthed as he would imply. We are not ashamed of our "*peculiar institution*," nor do we need any sugared epithets to cloak an iniquity of which we are entirely unconscious. One would certainly imagine that we, of these Southern United States of America, must be of more obtuse intellect than other men. We have not the same inspirations, the same heaven-breathing warnings. Witness, for in-

stance, the enthusiastic exclamation and high-wrought feelings of the illustrious traveller we have just named, as, when passing Mason and Dixon's line, he first finds himself in a slave State: "Declaration of Independence, which I read yesterday! Pillar of Washington, which I have looked on to-day! what are ye?" What are ye, mystic emblems of an unknown faith? What mystery dwells in these magic symbols, beyond the ken of our comprehension? The exalted imagination of the noble Lord seems to have read the enigma, which, to our simple intellects, is unintelligible. Truly, it would appear to us that the Declaration of Independence is precisely nothing more nor less than it was when, upwards of 74 years ago, it was signed by the representatives of *thirteen free and independent SLAVEHOLDING States*. As the history of America is not very closely studied on the other side of the Atlantic, it may possibly have escaped the observation of the noble traveller, that *all* were then *slaveholding States*. As to what Washington's monument is, we ought perhaps to be ashamed to confess that we are by no means certain whether it is of brick or granite. If the question were, what was Washington, we could more easily answer it. He was indeed a great and a good man, a true patriot, a pure man, and, withal, a *slaveholder*. Fie upon the humbug cant of the day!

But we are not reviewing Lord Morpeth, and must pass on to our more immediate subject.

"Man clings to error, as a dormant bat
To a dead bough."

The bough breaks at last, however, and the poor bat is doomed, *nolens volens*, to move his lodgings. It is not our object here to discuss the vexed question concerning the "unity of the races." This has been done, and, in our opinion, the question decided, by wiser heads than ours. We confess ourselves entirely unfit for argument upon the subject. It is only the learned naturalist who has the right to mingle in such a discussion. He whose studies have not long and laboriously led him in this direction, has the right only to listen, to read, to weigh authorities, and thus, from the learning and investigation of others, to find his own belief.

The great and distinguishing superiority of the human mind over the brute, is the capacity, which reason gives

it, of thus seizing and profiting by the conclusions of other men. In the beginning of any science, the mind starts tremblingly, doubtingly, creeps forward from conclusion to conclusion, fearfully retraces its steps, and again and yet again measures the same path, before it can trust its own deductions and stamp them with the certainty of belief. That certainty once gained, daylight opens upon it. No longer groping in the gloom, it boldly pushes forward ; its progress is by leaps, and, with the exulting might of manhood, it rushes to the full effulgence of knowledge. Slow, indeed, would be the progress of the world, were each individual mind obliged to laboriously retrace these steps, instead of grasping and appropriating, so far as its individual intelligence is capable, the labour of its predecessors. The great mind, which first draws its conclusion from the darkness of error and forces it upon the world, has then a high and noble, but oftenest, alas ! an ungrateful task to perform. The voice of error, when the attempt is made to route her from her stronghold, is ever loud and clamorous—"Crucify him ! Crucify him !"

"For millions never think a noble thought ;
But with mute hate of brightness bay a mind
(Which drives the darkness out of them) like hounds."

The history of Galileo every schoolboy knows. Error, building her defences upon a literal, unauthorized and dogmatic interpretation of Scripture authorities, screamed anathemas ; and, backed by imprisonment, the wheel and the inquisition, she triumphed. *God's* own prophet, (such a prophet as yet, in every age, he sends to enlighten the world, and speak his thought, and interpret his ways—for genius is the voice of *God*.) *God's* own prophet was hushed—Galileo recanted ! "*E pur si muove.*" Yes, still it moves, and, spite of infallible popes and bigot priests, *will* move, so long as the Almighty fiat destines it a place in *God's* glorious universe.

Geology has been forced to fight its way against persecution and revilings. The superstition of the church, (the noblest things may be abused, and the highest polluted to foul purposes,) the *superstition* of the church everywhere armed itself, and the hue and cry of "*infidelity*" was again raised. The light emanating from the investigation of *God's* own works was most painfully forced aside, and superstition gloried in her achievement ; but

"Thought sprang from *God* ; and, all bestained with earth,
Struggling and creeping still, at last the truth
Is forced upon the day."

Geology triumphs, and baffled error hides her head.

A fresh subject of discord has again risen, in the question of the "unity of the races," and again the cry is, "to the rescue." The church declares herself in danger ; the pious are called upon to close their ranks and gird themselves to the fight ; the banner of the holy faith is raised, and sentence of excommunication fulminated against the innovators.

"I can scorn nothing which a nation's heart
Has held for ages holy."

Even error becomes, to a certain degree, sacred, when it has been stamped for centuries with the approbation of the world, and should be touched lightly, gently dealt with, and led rather than shoved aside. But it is carrying too far this prerogative, to claim exemption from question ; and he who demands such exemption weakens the cause which he endeavours to defend. The sincere and humble Christian should rather invite than repel investigation. A touchy shrinking from inquiry implies a consciousness of fallibility. *Facts* must have their way. There is no power, in heaven or earth, to make an accomplished fact cease to be a fact. Stern as destiny, immovable in truth, it *is*. Had the truths advanced by Galileo really clashed with the Christian faith, as its early and imprudent defenders imagined, even *that* faith (pure and beautiful as it is) must have bowed before the stern and unbending veracity of fact. Such, however, cooler judgments and calmer investigations proved to be far from being the case. All that was holy, chaste and pure in that purest of creeds, stands as sacred, more sacred, perhaps, than ever. The coward fear, that shrinks the searching eye, but proves the weakness of its faith. There is "something rotten," where the tenderest touch can cause such wincing. If it be a fact that man originates from various sources, not the less are we brethren—not the less bound to consult the good of all, and to endeavour to contribute, in so far as *God* has put it in our power, by just and righteous means, to the well-being and happiness of all. Man is man, and to man venerable,

as the highest created work (so far, at least, as our intelligence extends) of the Almighty. If there are differences in grade of intellect and stamp of character, which fit men for differences of rank and position in life—if these extend from individuals to races, marking the course of each as with the finger of destiny—then, by investigating those differences, by searching into those peculiarities of character, we best enable ourselves to second, as well as lies in the power of feeble man, the great behests of the all-wise Ruler, who, in his wisdom, directing the world not always in accordance with the Utopian plans of man, oftenest guides us by facts, which no reasoning, no theorizing, can set aside. If there are differences in the races of men, stamped ineffaceably by the hand of *God* and nature, we, by determining in our blind and feeble judgments, to force upon all one mould and one stamp, can succeed only in blotting out much of the beautiful order of creation; but one mite we can never add to it by such a course. Man's improvement must advance in accordance with, not in opposition to, Almighty order.

It is, then, no light question upon which we are called to decide. Long, patient and labourious have been the investigations of those who have now ventured to express their opinion against the unity of descent; and no prejudice, no dogmatic assumption, (no foolish fear that *God's* word may be found in opposition to *God's* works!—revelation to fact!) should induce us to cast aside, as false, the thus matured opinion of wise and good men, much less, in our ignorance, to raise against them the cry of "infidelity." We know that there are also strong defenders of the unity of descent, and the name of Prichard is unknown to no one who has thought even lightly upon this subject. But it cannot be denied that the most recent investigations and authorities are opposed to it. We have in the United States two names too well known to need comment—Agassiz and Morton. Our champions of the old faith are less widely known. The city of Charleston has furnished two, whose zeal and sincerity are unimpeachable, and who are warm in defence of a belief which they consider as a part of their religious creed. Habit has made it venerable, even sacred to them, and we respect the feeling by which they instinctively hug and protect it. But, with all deference for the purity of their intentions, for their capacity and learning, which

far be it from us to underrate, the Rev. Messrs. Bachman and Smyth will scarcely, we presume, feel themselves aggrieved if we rank their names, as *naturalists*, below the world-known ones of Agassiz and Morton. Dr. Bachman has, we know, in addition to his useful labours as a teacher of the Christian faith, devoted much time to the study of zoology; but we have said, and say again, that the world-wide fame of Agassiz and Morton must set *their* authority on much higher ground. Besides, Dr. Bachman *has been answered*, and we presume that few who have read Dr. Morton's "Additional Observations on Hybridity of Animals, etc." will need further proof to convince them that the reverend, learned and most estimable gentleman has, in this discussion, got a little beyond his depth. Dr. Bachman should, before entering upon it, have thrown aside his fear of "*being biassed by authorities*," and have ceased to shrink from reading the numerous works written upon this subject. It is by authorities that the mass of our knowledge is attained, and, if we allowed ourselves to be balanced by no authorities, the a b c of science would not yet be passed. Cast aside authority, and what an effulgence of light becomes suddenly extinct for man!

The question of race must, to be honestly and calmly discussed, be considered entirely distinct from its theological bearing. It is a question of fact to be first decided, and then referred to the theologian, that his judgment and learning may reconcile it with the higher doctrines of a creed, whose friends are, by their injudicious sensitiveness, doing more to call it into doubt than could be effected by its bitterest enemies. Nothing can more strongly mark the strength and invulnerable purity of this creed, than its capacity for resisting such support. It stands firm, and beautiful in its firmness; not because it has been well defended, but because the beautiful and the good in it stand out too boldly to be smothered or crushed by the mistaken zeal of its defenders. Virtue is equally virtue, and the creed which exhibits it in its highest form is equally venerable, whether mankind be descended from Adam and Eve, created some 6000 years since, in the garden of Eden, or whether, in times unknown, in regions unknown, from ancestors unknown, they sprang into being, under circumstances as various as *God* has seen fit to show them to us, in their present existence. We mean

no attack upon a religion which only the bitterest enemy of mankind could wish to enfeeble. To the philosopher and the philanthropist, independent of personal belief, christianity is equally sacred. With it modern civilization walks hand in hand ; from it proceed all those softening influences which make us feel, spite of the *chefs d'œuvres* of ancient art, now inimitable, that the world is better and wiser than it has been. It stands, after a trial of eighteen centuries, the purest code of philosophy and morals that the history of man has ever developed. But there are those who undertake to interpret and explain it in a manner to which, we must confess, our judgments do not so entirely submit. There is, to the best of our belief, nothing in pure christianity which in any way clashes with the settlement of the question of the races ; and we see no reason for the extreme tenderness required in touching this point, where it appears to differ from the literal and verbal biblical text, which has, in cases equally strong, been already waived. None but a madman or half idiot would, with the universal opinion of the civilized world against him, now maintain that the earth is the centre of the universe, and that the sun revolves round it. Few, among well-informed men, are bigoted enough to contend for the long-established biblical chronology and six days creation. Not only learned and good men, but christian preachers, honest teachers of Christ and his doctrines, have read, in that greatest of Bibles, *God's* holy book of nature, that these are the errors of a past and mistaken faith, and have, like great and true men, recanted and confessed them.

Speaking of the period of man's creation, Dr. Morton says :

“There is nothing in geology to disprove the existence of man upon the earth for a period vastly longer than has generally been supposed. Dr. Prichard, who bestowed a part of his great learning and remarkable talents in the investigation of chronology, arrived at the conclusion that the Hebrew annals afford no data of this kind beyond the epoch of Abraham. Hence, according to his view, there can be no antagonism between the sacred records and the discoveries of Dr. Lepsius.”

The remark of Dr. Prichard here alluded to is, (speaking of the arrival of Abraham in Palestine,) “Beyond that event we can never know how many centuries, nor

how many *chiliads* of years may have elapsed since the first man of clay received the image of *God* and the breath of life."

Dr. Morton believes that the evidence of his existence may yet arise, in the alluvial deposits, and even in the older deluvial beds.

In answer to the question whether the deluge was a universal cataclysm, Dr. Morton says :

"Geologists began their investigations with the full belief in a universal deluge ; but the irresistible evidence of the facts of nature is wholly opposed to such a theory, and it is now, by almost universal consent, abandoned."

He quotes the authority, to this effect, of Prof. Hitchcock, Rev. Adam Sedgwick, Mr. Greenough, and then remarks :

"Buckland, Lyell, Elie de Beaumont, Murchison, and, as far as I am informed, every other distinguished geologist of the day, have arrived at the same conclusion ; and the Rev. J. Pye Smith has shown, with great probability, the proximate barriers by which the Hebrew deluge was circumscribed in Western Asia."

After sundry quotations, which want of space will not allow us to transfer, Dr. Morton continues :

"I can only further refer to this most learned and elaborate work, [*The Holy Scriptures and Geolog. Science,* by Rev. J. Pye Smith,] for a vast mass of additional zoological and geological testimony in relation to this highly interesting question ; but I may add that the evidence is designed to prove, and it is convincing to my judgment, that the *creation*, as described in Genesis, only relates to one of the various independent zoological centres, while the Mosaic deluge describes the submersion of that locality only, and the destruction of all its inhabitants excepting those who were preserved in the ark—and such was also the opinion long ago expressed by Bishop Stillingfleet."

Here, then, we have the honest opinion of more than one enlightened preacher of the Christian faith, that the literal and cramped interpretation of Genesis to which some would confine us, is utterly untenable, and that the existence of the world, if not of man, is of millions and millions of years. Only after the most violent persecution was astronomy allowed to enfranchise itself from such an interpretation. Geology is even yet fighting against the giant superstition. Has the world become no wiser, that the same battle must be fought by ethnology ?

It is a strange assertion of Dr. Bachman, that "if the Scriptures could, by any possibility, be tortured to prove the plurality of origin for the human species, philosophers and men of science would become infidels." Rather, we should say, if the Scriptures can be proved to agree with what appears to such men an evident and necessary fact, would the difficulty to faith be removed. Science and learning would thus be brought to corroborate instead of opposing it. It would be a sorry argument in favour of the revealed word, to maintain that philosophers and men of science are forced to abandon it, as inconsistent with revealed fact. Far be it from us to pronounce a judgment so inconsistent with Almighty wisdom. The Rev. J. Pye Smith, a clergyman *in favour* of the *unity* side of the question, and, as we have already shown, frequently referred to by Dr. Morton for his learned but liberal opinions, remarks :

"If the two first inhabitants of Eden were the progenitors, not of all human beings, but only of the races whence sprang the Hebrew family, still it would remain the fact, that *all* were formed by the immediate power of *God*, and all their circumstances, stated or implied in the Scriptures, would remain the same as to moral and practical purposes. Some difficulties in the Scripture history would be taken away—such as the sons of Adam obtaining wives who were their own sisters ; Cain's acquiring instruments of husbandry, which must have been supplied by miracle immediately from heaven, upon the usual supposition ; his apprehensions of summary punishment ; his fleeing into another region, of which Josephus so understands the text, as to affirm that Cain obtained confederates and became a plunderer and a robber, implying the existence of a population beyond his own family ; and his building a city, a considerable collection of habitations."

"Is our faith shaken, (asks Dr. Morton,) because Galileo has shown that the sun does not revolve round the earth, but the earth round the sun ? Does it detract from our admiration of Creative Wisdom to be told, as geology teaches, that past time is an eternity ? Should it lessen our admiration of the past, or our hope in the future, to be told that mankind have existed thousands of centuries upon the earth ? Or does our religion suffer detriment, because the great Lepsius has deciphered the legends of Memphis, and proved that they date back three thousand five hundred years before Christ ? Yet these things are true, and if the pride of man feels humiliated at his past ignorance, let him be thankful that he has yet lived to see so much light."

We have said that the greatest weight of authority is

opposed to the unity of descent. Prichard himself, the great defender of it, says :

“If the elucidation of doubts on subjects of physical inquiry were to be sought for, in preponderance of authorities or opinions of celebrated men, I am afraid that the problem which I have endeavoured to investigate would receive a solution different from that I have obtained.”

The authority of Prichard is a very high one ; but besides the acknowledgment just quoted, we must remember that the subject of diversity is one upon which the world is, but recently, full awake. Late investigations have added vastly to the strength of argument in its favour, and Prichard closed his labours at a period when light was breaking in, almost in floods, upon the science of ethnology.

Dr. Morton's opinions on the subject are so well known, that it is only necessary for us further to quote what has a particular reference not only to the difference but to the inequality of men.

“I believe in a plurality of origin for the human species ; that they were created not in one pair, but in many pairs, and that they were adapted from the beginning to those varied circumstances of climate and locality which, while congenial to some, are destructive to others. Hence the differences in their physical characteristics, and in their mental and moral endowments.”

Mr. Agassiz, in common with Dr. Morton, not only disclaims all wish and idea of clashing with scriptural belief, but considers his opinions as entirely conformable with, and confirmatory of, such belief. He impresses upon us the distinction between the question concerning the “Unity of Mankind” and that of the “Diversity of Origin of the Human Races.”

“The unity of species does not involve a unity of origin, nor does a diversity of origin involve a plurality of species.” “Do we cease to recognize the unity of mankind, because we are not of the same family ? because we originate in various countries, and are born in America, England, Germany, France, Switzerland ? Where the relationship of blood has ceased, do we cease to acknowledge that general bond, which unites all men, of every nation ? By no means. This is a bond which every man feels more and more, the further he advances in his intellectual and moral culture, and which, in this development, is continually placed upon higher and higher ground,—so much so, that the physical relation arising from a com-

mon descent, is finally entirely lost sight of, in the consciousness of the higher moral obligations. It is this consciousness which constitutes the true unity of mankind." "The comparisons made between monkeys and men by comparative anatomists, when tracing the gradations in nature, have been greatly misunderstood by those who have concluded, that because there were no other types between the highest monkeys and men, these highest monkeys were something intermediate between men and beasts; or that some race particularly disagreeable to those writers was something intermediate between monkeys and human beings. These links between mankind and the animal creation are only the great steps indicating the gradation established by the Creator among living beings, and they no more indicate a relation between men and monkeys, than between monkeys and beasts of prey, or between these and the ox, or between the ox and the whale."

Mr. Agassiz goes on to remark, that however important it is that the unity of mankind, as he has just explained it, should be recognized and defended, such unity does in no wise exclude diversity.

"Diversity is the complement of all unity; for unity does not mean oneness or singleness, but a plurality, in which there are many points of resemblance, of agreement, of identity. This diversity in unity is the fundamental law of nature," "and becomes gradually more and more prominent throughout organized beings, as we rise from their lowest to their highest forms." "This law of diversity, therefore, must be investigated as fully, as minutely, and as conscientiously, as the law of unity which pervades the whole." "Those who contend for the unity of a common descent from a single pair, labour under a strange delusion, when they believe that their argument is favourable to the idea of a moral government of the world, and of the direct intervention of Providence in the development of mankind. Unconsciously, they advocate a greater and more extensive influence in the production of those peculiarities by physical agencies, than by the Deity himself. If their views were true, *God* has less to do directly with the production of the diversity which exists in nature in the vegetable as well as the animal kingdom, and in the human race, than climatic conditions and the diversity of food upon which these beings subsist." "Whether the different races have been from the beginning what they are now, or have been successively modified to their present condition, (a view which we consider as utterly unsupported by facts,) so much is plain,—that there are upon earth different races of men, inhabiting different parts of its surface, which have different physical characters; and this fact as it stands, without reference to the time of its establishment and the cause of its appearance, requires further

investigation, and presses upon us the obligation to settle the relative rank among these races, the relative value of the characters peculiar to each, in a scientific point of view. It is a question of almost insuperable difficulty, but it is unavoidable as it is difficult, and, as philosophers, it is our duty to look it in the face." *"It seems to us to be mock philanthropy and mock philosophy to assume that all the races have the same abilities, enjoy the same powers, and show the same natural dispositions, and that in consequence of this equality they are entitled to the same position in human society.* History speaks here for itself. Ages have gone by, and the social developments which have arisen among the different races have at all times been different, and not only different from those of other races, but particularly characteristic in themselves, evincing peculiar dispositions, peculiar tendencies, peculiar adaptations in the different races."

Our Declaration of Independence was a great and noble act. It showed the world that a people capable of self-government has the right of self-government, and will, almost of necessity, seek the exercise of that right;—that a thinking and intelligent people cannot be kept under subjection by a dogmatically assumed power. Physical strength may be,—ought to be,—curbed and governed; and submits willingly and naturally to such government. Our negro, for instance, feels by instinct, that his condition is suited to his powers; and would, but for mischievous interference, never seek, never wish to change it. Intellectual strength, conscious of the power and right of self-government, can no more be crushed, than could the fiery Pegasus be broken to plough and wagon.* The Declaration of Independence was, then, a great and noble act; but never was a greater or more mischievous fallacy contained in six unlucky words, than in the blundering sentence, *"all men are born free and equal."* *No man is born free.* What is freedom, but the power of exercising a will? the right and ability to act independently of the dictates and control of others? Will any man contend that the infant "meuling and puking in its nurse's arms" is a free agent? or the school-boy, "creeping like snail unwillingly to school?" The madman or the drivelling idiot,—what law can make free agents of *them*? Here, we will no doubt be answered, is a subjection instituted by the order of nature, for the regulation and

* Those familiar with Retch's outlines will understand our allusion.

benefit of the feeble and unformed intellect. Undoubtedly it is ; and we contend, upon precisely similar grounds, that the subjection of the negro (he being once brought into contact with the higher and governing intellect of the white man), is equally just, equally natural, equally beneficial, and equally necessary. No man is born free, and no two human beings, perhaps, were ever born equal. Privileges and capacities of endless shade and variety, chequer their lives with endless shades of difference ; forming thus the beautiful "diversity in unity." Man everywhere, but everywhere the distinct, individual man ; nowhere the machine, stamped by the thousand copies upon one model and never varying construction. Men are not, never were, and never can be, born free and equal. And so certainly was this felt, so meaningless were the words, that at the very moment of signing the Declaration, all the States composing the confederacy were *slaveholding* States, and those which afterwards ceased to be so, only liberated their slaves when, in the progress of events, and from the effect of climate, negro labour proved valueless, and the slave became a burthen to his master. Let us not be accused of casting slur or slight upon the great men who signed our Declaration of Independence. They were men, and, therefore, liable to mistake or oversight. That such was the case here, cannot be denied. If any, in zeal for their honour, maintains the contrary, he only casts himself upon the sharper horn of the dilemma. Our patriot fathers, if they took these words in their full and literal sense, put the negro altogether out of the pale of humanity. Either the expression, "all men were born free and equal," means nothing, or the negro was, in their estimation, *not a man*.

But we have wandered far from Mr. Agassiz. Let us return to our quotations. Speaking of Africa, he remarks—

"This compact continent of Africa exhibits a population which has been in constant intercourse with the white race, which has enjoyed the benefit of the example of the Egyptian civilization, of the Phœnician civilization, of the Roman civilization, and of all those nations that have successively flourished in Egypt, and in the northern parts of Africa ; and, nevertheless, there has never been a regulated society of black men developed in that continent so peculiarly congenial to that race. Do we not find, on the contrary, that the African tribes are to-day, what they were in the time of

the Pharaohs; what they were at a later period, what they are probably to continue to be for a much longer time? And does not this indicate in this race a peculiar apathy, a peculiar indifference to the advantages afforded by civilized society?"

After speaking of the peculiarities of divers races, he continues—

"The indomitable, courageous, proud Indian, in how very different a light he stands by the side of the submissive, obsequious, imitative negro; or by the side of the tricky, cunning and cowardly Mongolian! Are not these facts indications that the different races *do not rank upon one level in nature*; that the different tendencies which characterize man in his highest development, are permanently brought out in various combinations, isolated in each of these races, in a manner similar to all the developments in physical nature; we may, also, say similar to all the developments in the intellectual and moral world, where, in the early stages of development, we see one side predominant, which, in the highest degree of perfection, shows itself combined with all others in wonderful harmony, even though the lower stages belong to the same sphere as the highest? So can we conceive, and so it seems to us to be indeed the fact, that *those higher attributes which characterize man in his highest development*, are exhibited in the several races in *very different proportions*, giving, in the case of the inferior races, prominence to features which are more harmoniously combined in the white race; thus preserving the unity among them all, though the difference is made more prominent by the manner in which the different faculties are developed."

"What (continues Mr. Agassiz,) would be the best education to be imparted to the different races, in consequence of their primitive difference, no reasonable man can expect to be prepared to say, so long as the principle itself is so generally opposed; but, for our own part, we entertain not the slightest doubt that human affairs, with reference to the coloured races, would be far more judiciously conducted, if, in our intercourse with them, we were guided by a full consciousness of the *real differences existing between us and them*, and a desire to foster those dispositions that are eminently marked in them on terms of equality. We conceive it to be *our duty to study these peculiarities*, and to do all that is in our power to develop them to the *greatest advantage of all parties*. And *the more we become acquainted with these dispositions*, the better, doubtless, *will be our course with reference to our improvement, and with reference to the advance of the coloured races*.* For our

* The italics throughout these quotations from Mr. Agassiz are ours; we have taken the liberty of so marking certain passages from this very high authority.

own part, we have always considered it as a most injudicious proceeding to attempt to force the peculiarities of our white civilization of the nineteenth century upon all nations of the world."

Here, with regret, we leave Mr. Agassiz. Surely we have quoted from him enough to waken every thinking mind. Men are different,—of different races, different capacities ; necessarily, therefore, of different desires, different wants. The circumstances and position in life which, to the individuals of the one race would be the sole endurable existence, to those of another might present a very different aspect. Happiness and wretchedness, independent of absolute bodily suffering, cannot be predicated of any particular routine or position in life. They depend entirely upon the suitableness of the character to the circumstances in which fate has cast it. We have somewhere seen an extract from (we think) an old sermon, of which we remember neither the where, nor the how, the author, nor the circumstances of its delivery. The preacher compares life to a board filled with holes, of various size and form. To each of these holes, some particular individual is exactly suited and fitted. If every man could find his right place, life would indeed be happy, passing as "merry as a marriage bell;" but, "alas ! my hearers, how often do we find the *round man stuck into the square hole* !"

The white man, made for liberty, (i. e. for self-government, of which the instinct is implanted in his bosom,) rebels at what "the submissive, obsequious, imitative negro," finds, perhaps, his happiest existence. Could our innovators succeed in displacing the negro from his present position, they would very soon learn from his turbulent restlessness, that all their fancied philanthropy had for sole achievement, terminated by the cramming of the poor fellow into the *square hole*. It would be well for us all, if the motley crew which is now working to revolutionize the world—to upset *God's* rule, and establish their own patent discoveries for its government—could only believe the simple truth, that when men are fit for liberty, they need *no promptings to make them claim it*. Officious interference may, under other circumstances, drive them to rebellion and bloodshed, but never to the attainment of liberty. Men who need to be driven on by the excitement and promptings of others, ask, when roused to ex-

erty, not for self-government, but no government; not for liberty, but license.

This question of race is, then, most important in the consideration of negro slavery. The whole world seems to have joined in a crusade against us; and while we would resist to the uttermost the encroachments of our northern (not brethren, but) aggressors; while we would back not one step,—give up not one *iota* of our right; while we say to them, just or unjust, right or wrong, pure as heaven or black as hell, *you* have no right to interfere with us; while we pray for the independence of the South, at any sacrifice of existing conditions and relations, as the greatest blessing that heaven could confer upon our beloved and almost prostrate country,—yet we are willing, and anxious, to show that our cause is just. The consciousness of right is a shield of proof, but not, therefore, need we entirely despise the opinion of the world. Let us, if possible, convince others, also, of the justice of our cause. Were it merely as an act of charity, it would be a praiseworthy deed towards those unfortunate individuals, who seem to think it their duty to take the world under their charge, and who, constituting themselves *God's* vice-gerents, have determined as their *coup d'essai*, in correcting the faults of the universe, to begin with this black spot of American negro slavery, and have, accordingly, so fixed their eyes upon it, that the dark speck has, to their diseased imaginations, gradually expanded itself, until like the cloud, at first no bigger than a man's hand, it now envelopes and darkens their whole horizon. Talk of oppression, they groan "poor negro!" Starvation;—again, "poor negro!" Destitution, misery, unutterable wretchedness! "Poor negro!" "negro!" "negro!" There stands the spectre, and ever,

" Like some tormenting dream,
Affrights them with a hell of ugly devils!"

These people, could they only be brought to use their common sense instead of screaming, starting and fainting at the ghosts of their wandering imaginations, might discover that they are playing the fool in this combat of shadows, and that they manufacture miseries much as Don Quixote did his giants out of wind-mills. Could the civilized world be convinced that all the races do *not* have the same abilities, enjoy the same powers, or show

the same natural dispositions, and are not, therefore, entitled to the same position in human society ; could the subject be fairly brought before the white man, and investigated as a great philosophic question deserves to be investigated, we verily believe, so well is the negro fitted for his position, that the philanthropist of every nation would arm in defence of our institutions, and presumptuous ignorance which seeks to force out *God's* law, in order to displace it by some "Icarie" of its own invention, would be hooted from the position which it now so impudently assumes.

This most important question it is, then, a sad mistake for us to allow to be pushed aside, or dogmatically determined upon by religious sectarians, whose sincerity is generally superior to their judgment ; who blind themselves with a prejudice, and shrink with horror from the hand which would withdraw the veil from their eyes. We have already, however, disclaimed the intention of discussing it. This is a task to which we might prove entirely incompetent ;—we have convinced ourselves, and would have others do it as we have done. Authorities without number are open to them. The articles which form the subject of our present comments are so short that none can say he has not time,—so clear that few can say they have not capacity to investigate them. Dr. Nott has, both in the pages of the *Southern Quarterly* and *De Bow's Review*, laid the question frequently before us, and we hope will continue his useful labours. This subject is one which, until lately, has been sacred to the learned ; but the time has arrived, when, like all other similar questions, it must, after due discussion, become vulgarized to common opinion. The question has been started, and as well might one try to stop the waters of the Mississippi with a mud-bank, as to attempt, with the old notion of Adamic descent, to prevent the current of thought which flows in upon it ;—men *will* think, argue and familiarize themselves with the idea ; will consult authorities, and, according to the weight of those authorities, and the bias of their intellects, form their conclusions, without being sufficiently learned ethnologists to argue conclusively upon the subject. Many, who know with certain conviction that our earth revolves round the sun, as its great centre, might find it extremely difficult to advance any argument or proof of the fact, other than those received from the

most approved authorities upon the subject. The discovering mind, bursting like sun-beams through the clouds of ignorance, reveals the light, which it is easy for common men to see and follow, though through ages of darkness they might fail to originate it.

While writing this article, quite a startling work has fallen into our hands: "The Races of Men, a Fragment, by Robert Knox, M.D." We presume this volume will hardly obtain favour with the advocates of either side of this question. The author's bold speculations leap ahead of argument in a manner little calculated to satisfy the wary philosopher, while he bombards the unity theory with a boldness of assertion which staggers even its opponents—and yet we have read the work with much interest. Its original and startling views have already attracted, and will, no doubt, further attract both attention and animadversion from the learned, and to them we leave the discussion of its merits and demerits, contenting ourselves with some extracts, which strike us as worth making.

"Race is every thing. Seignories and monkeries, nunneries and feudality, do not form, neither do they modify, the character of any people; they are an effect, not a cause, let chroniclers say what they will. They indicate the character of a race; they do not make that character." "Race is every thing; science, literature, art, in a word, civilization, depend on it."

This is a sweeping stroke against the common idea, that man is so completely the creature of circumstance, that national characteristics are the result of location, institutions, etc., and yet it is by no means entirely new with Mr. Knox. The learned Arnold lays, occasionally, much stress upon race, and the difference of power in different races. Speaking of the Sclavonic and German races, as having respectively effected the changes in Eastern and Western Europe, he expresses an opinion, which, while we confess it is not entirely consistent with the general tone of his writings, is, we think, worth quoting:—

"The changes which have been wrought, have arisen out of the reception of these elements by new races; races endowed with such force of character, that what was old in itself, when exhibited in them, seemed to become something new. But races so gifted are, and have been, from the beginning of the world, few in number: the mass of mankind have no such power; they either receive

the impression of foreign elements so completely, that their own individual character is absorbed, and they take their whole being from without ; or, being incapable of taking in higher elements, they dwindle away when brought into the presence of a more powerful life, and become, at last, extinct altogether."

Mr. Knox contends that permanent amalgamation of race is impossible, and, as may be seen from the quotation just made, in this, too, he is to a considerable extent supported by Arnold ; who, as we have just seen, speaks of the *weaker races as dwindling away when brought into the presence of a more powerful life, and becoming, at last, extinct altogether*. This, in our own country, has been fully exemplified in the case of our native American Indians ; is actually being exemplified among the negroes located in our free States ; and will be exemplified in the whole transplanted race, if abolition, folly and madness, continue their unchecked career without producing a more awful and sudden catastrophe.

We must allow ourselves one more extract from Arnold ; we quote from his miscellanies commenting on Thucydides, and referring to habits of ancient Greece.

"The mixture of persons of different races in the same commonwealth, unless one race had a complete ascendancy, tended to confuse all the relations of life, and all men's notions of right and wrong ; or, by compelling men to tolerate in so near a relation as that of fellow-citizens, differences upon the main points of human life, led to a general carelessness and scepticism, and encouraged the notion that right and wrong have no real existence, but are the mere creatures of human opinion."

Slavery, if this be true, is the only safeguard of our morals and manners, when races so entirely opposed to each other as the negro and the Saxon, are thrown together.

Of the dark races generally, Knox remarks—

"No one seems much to care for them ; their ultimate expulsion from all lands which the fair races can colonize, seems almost certain." If, in America, the Saxon "will not allow a black man to be a free man ; in Australia, he deems him entirely below his notice ; in Tasmania, he swept him at once and entirely from the land of his birth. No compunctious visitings about the fell swoop which extinguished a race."

This is a painfully true observation. The mock philan-

thropy which is now so much the fashion as regards American slavery, will expend itself upon a fugitive Mr. and Mrs. Crofts, or a Rev. Fred. Douglass; will hone and wail over the dreams with which its diseased imagination has enveloped our "peculiar institution," but forgets to look at the slaughtered Tasmanian, the starved Australian, the enslaved Coolie, and even the fast-perishing negro of our own free States, who, in the home of the agitator and the abolitionist, starves for want of a friend and a master.

"Look (exclaims our author) at the negro so well known to you, and say need I describe him? Is he shaped like any white person? Is the anatomy of his frame, of his muscles, or organs, like ours? Does he walk like us, think like us, act like us? Not in the least. What an innate hatred the Saxon has for him, and how I have laughed at the mock philanthropy of England?" "The Dutch at the Cape have a perfect horror for the coloured races; it extends to the mulatto, whom they absolutely despise. The placing a coloured man in an important official situation in South Africa, has caused to Britain the loss of some millions, and laid the basis for the ultimate separation of that colony from Britain." "Wild, visionary and pitiable theories have been offered respecting the *colour* of the black man, as if he differed only in colour from the white races; but he differs in every thing as much as in colour. He is no more a white man, than an ass is a horse or a zebra. If the Israelite finds his ten tribes amongst them I shall be happy; but what has flattened the nose so much? altered the shape of the whole features? the body, the limbs? Some idle, foolish, and, I might almost say, some wicked notions have been spread about, of their being descended from Cain; such notions ought to be discountenanced; they give a colour to oppression."

With all our hearts we endorse this last sentiment of Dr. Knox. This race, so markedly our inferior, placed by providence among us in the position of all others best suited to their comfort and happiness; whom (considering the mutual social ties established between us) we regard it not only as a right, but as a sacred duty, to *protect* and *govern*,—how often have we heard them stigmatised as a race accursed! a wicked and perverse generation whom it was almost a virtue to persecute! The natural aversion of race in the white man, strengthened and legitimized by the fancied curse of *God*, stamps the poor outcast with a brand ineffaceable indeed, until nowhere finds he a protector, nowhere a home, save under the sheltering

arm of that master, hooted at and slandered by the ignorant and the bigoted, as his tyrant and oppressor.

"In Central Africa, the true black or negro race seems to have attained its ultimatum centuries ago. He has his own form of civilization, but, unfortunately, it includes neither literature, art nor science ; yet he is industrious, good-tempered, energetic, accumulative, a lover of order and of finery ; a fatalist and a worshipper of Fetishes." "When the race attempts to imitate the civilization of another, Celtic or Saxon, for example, the whole affair becomes a ludicrous farce, and even grave men laugh at it. The after-piece is being played in St. Domingo, where they have elected a black Emperor ! In Liberia, they will elect a sham President. It can come to nothing in either case. Each race must act for itself, and work out its own destiny ; display its own tendencies ; be the maker of its own fortunes, be they good or evil. A foreign civilization they cannot adopt, calling it national, native ; but the imposture, like all impostures, becomes manifest in time, whether practised by the negro or the Saxon. They elect a President in Hayti. In recollection of Napoleon, he declares himself Emperor ; standing in the same relation to that name which the ourang-outang does to the Apollo."

Incapable of civilization, but good-tempered, and with considerable intelligence and activity, destined to extinction if coming unprotected into contact with the white races, what better destiny could *God*, in his merciful wisdom, have marked out for him than the one which he occupies under our institution of slavery ? Transplanted from his natural soil, and without the possibility (were it desirable) of being re-transferred to it ; cast into the midst of a flourishing white population, the negro would be trampled from existence, without the refuge of slavery ; in which, good-tempered, unambitious, unintellectual, incapable of civilization, and unfit for amalgamation, he finds, when unexcited by the mischievous meddling of ignorant fanaticism, his comfort and his happiness.

The possibility of communicating to the negro the civilization belonging to the white race being set aside, the question presents itself, "what, then, is his probable destiny ?

"He seems (says Mr. Knox) to have qualities of a high order, and might even reach a *certain point* of civilization." "Africa is his real country,—Central Africa. It is here that climate enables him to set the Celtic and Saxon races at defiance." "I incline to

the opinion that the dark races may for many ages hold the tropical regions; that many countries now in the military occupation of the fair races, may and will revert to the dark; that it would be a better policy, perhaps, to teach them artificial wants, and the habits and usages of civilization. Commerce alone, I think, can reach Central Africa; the negro must be taught the value of his labour. When this happens, the slave trade will, of necessity, cease."

It would be difficult to imagine a system better calculated than ours, for teaching to the "submissive, obsequious and imitative negro," in his transplanted condition. the wants, habits and usages of civilization. As regards his condition in Africa, the door is open wide. Philanthropists,—colonize, colonize, colonize;—establish commercial depots; inland trading societies; central mission societies, anything! if you do no good, the chances are, at least, you can do no harm.* Our abolitionists, unfortunately, like their comfort too well for such undertakings, and prefer the petty and mischievous notoriety of "making it the business of their lives (as Lord Morpeth assures us some of them informed him they did) to superintend the passage of runaway slaves through the free States; they reckon that about one thousand yearly escaped into Canada," and his lordship doubts "whether the enactment and operation of the fugitive slave law will damp the ardor of their exertions." We do not doubt,—we are sure that it will not; but we should like to have the true and faithful history of these escaped bondmen. Verily, there is more than sufficient reason to fear, that their last state is worse than their first.

Our author gives us, however, a glimpse at the kind of

* No harm, if we of the South are not forced to pay for experiments, which we consider as childishly futile and inefficient. Our Congressional legislation seems now to find no limit to its action, other than

"The good old rule; the simple plan
That they may take who have the power,
And they may keep who can."

The proposed measures upon this subject now before Congress, are unjust and iniquitous;—plans for picking our pockets to pay for ridding the Northern States of a troublesome and dangerous population, which their own mischievous meddling with our institutions has brought upon them. The negro population of the Northern States would be so nearly extinct, as to render all special legislation on its account quite unnecessary, (so rapidly does it "dwindle and die out,") were it not kept up by the constant influx of fugitives tempted on from the South.

colonization to which the negro is most probably destined. Of South Africa, he remarks :

“A new element of mind had appeared, about to create a new South African era : the Saxon or Celtic element, bringing with it the semi-civilized notions of Europe,—the power of combinations, fire arms, discipline, laws. Before this element antagonistic of nature, her works are doomed to destruction, in as far as man can destroy.” Forests and plants are swept before it. “The antelope, the zebra, the gnou, the ostrich, the bustard, escape from the land, or are shot down ; the mighty onslaught of an antagonistic element, seemingly too strong for nature, defeats even the rhinoceros, the elephant, the lion.” “Last of all comes man himself,—the coloured man,—the man placed there by nature ; he also must, of necessity, give way ; his destiny apparently is sealed, and extinction in presence of a stronger race, seems inevitable. The yellow race, the feebler, will naturally yield first ; then the Kaffir, he also must yield to the Saxon boor, on whose side is right, that is might ; for, humanly speaking, might is the sole right.”

Slavery, then, or extermination, seems to be the fate of the dark races, when invaded by or otherwise brought into juxtaposition with the white. We need not go further than our own aboriginal tribes for a case in point, illustrating the exterminating mode of procedure. Are our opponents such devoted admirers of all the acts of the “Pilgrim Fathers,” and their immediate descendants, that they would set up such a course as the model method to be pursued by us towards our negroes ? Extermination or slavery, we have said, is their fate ; not by man’s will, but *God’s* will ; who, for his own purposes, and in his impenetrable wisdom, has so formed the weaker race that they dwindle and die out by contact with the stronger ; has so formed the stronger that they instinctively repel the thought of amalgamation with the weaker ; has so formed both, that amalgamation leads to extinction. Extermination, then, or slavery ; and a slavery not such as ours, which softened by christianity and civilization, by the ties of dependence and propinquity, shows us the subjection of race by race, in the mildest, most humanizing form in which it is possible for this necessary subjection to exist, but hard and crushing.

“If we are to hold India,” says Dr. Knox, “it can only be as *military masters, lording it over a slave population*. It is the same with Jamaica, Cuba, even Brazil, tropical Africa, Madagascar, the

northern coasts of Australia, and all the islands of the Indian Ocean situated as Borneo, Sumatra, etc." p. 194. "The policy of the European nations would be (in Cuba and Jamaica) to expel the negro and transplant the Coolies, Hindoos, Chinese, or other feeble races, as labourers and workmen—*bondmen*, in fact. Why not call every thing by its right name? Over these the Saxon and Celt might lord it, as we do in India, with a few European bayonets, levying taxes and land rent, etc." p. 197.

Algeria needs a working class—the climate does not admit of white labour.

"The French would do well, perhaps, to encourage the immigration of coolies or negroes, as we do to the West Indies. The trade (a modified slave trade) is free to all. Call them *apprentices*, as we do—there is much in a name." p. 209.

Of the Caffres, he says :

"We are now preparing to take possession of their country, and this, of course, leads to their enslavery and final destruction, for a people without land are most certainly mere *bondmen*. *Ascripti glebæ*—they would, but they cannot quit it. The old English yeoman and the modern Dorsetshire labourer, the local tenant of Sutherlandshire and the peasantry of Ireland, are simply *bondmen* or slaves—there is no avoiding the phrase." p. 160.

Of America, he remarks :

"The hottest actual war ever carried on, the bloodiest of Napoleon's campaigns, is not equal to that now waging between our descendants in America and the dark races. It is a war of extermination; inscribed on each banner is a death's head, and no surrender—one or other must fall."

There is one check, and one only, to this bloody climax, and that we find in our slandered, reviled, but, we believe, providentially established institution of slavery, blessed, thrice blessed and beautiful in its harmony with creation ! Almost, were it not profanation to thus, as it were, thrust ourselves into the councils of Deity, we would call it an emanation of the Almighty wisdom, a reflected thought of Deity, so beautifully does it mingle together, in softened communion, the otherwise clashing and antagonistic characteristics of race, each race thus using and profiting by those peculiar traits which, being in itself deficient, are more fully developed in the other. The dark, as we have endeavoured to show, needs, and in slavery obtains,

the governing mind and protection of the white, necessary to secure him his position, even in existence. The white, in and near the tropics, cannot live and progress without the labour and bodily endurance of the dark race. Thus, each finds in each that which he lacks, and through the beneficent institution of slavery a hitherto unknown phenomenon in history occurs: a barbarous people lives peaceably, happily and improvingly, in connection with a superior one. Has the history of the world ever furnished a similar example? Has it, on the contrary, not always shown, what experience still shows us, the inferior race, if not strong enough to drive out the superior, suddenly exterminated, or gradually crushed from existence?

What, then, is the destiny of the negro, supposing the success of the present fanatical crusade against slavery? We say nothing just now of the white man; for the new-light prophets and dealers in inspiration have rhapsodies and sympathies only for the black skin. What, we ask, would be the result of their schemes upon the negro?

Peaceable emancipation (could such a thing be) would consign the race to that gradual extinction which is already rapidly advancing upon that portion of it located in our Northern States. But it is a farce to talk of the peaceable emancipation of millions of human beings without land, without property of any kind, without habits of foresight and self-dependence, and without the capacity for attaining these; without the knowledge even of what liberty means, and attaching to the word "*freedom*" only the idea of *idleness*. Inconceivable to them the brain-workings and the heart-struggles of the white man; they think of liberty as of a long holiday, and would be surprised to find that hard work, scant pittance of food, sickness without help, rags for clothing, and shivering cold, without fire or house-room, are often the lot of the so-called freeman? What know they of labour? We see the sneer which curls the lip of the abolitionist as he answers, "the life of the slave is labour." But we deny it. What knows he of labour? Nothing. Nothing, compared to the anxious thought, the brain-sweat, the sleepless night and weariness without rest, without hope, which breaks down the sorrow-scourged life of millions of—shall we say freemen? Is he a freeman who, under the lash of hunger, walks to the gallows

to escape it? Is he a freeman, who continually stared in the face by the wretched alternative between vice and starvation, rushes to the grave to forget it? In courtesy, let us, however, say *freeman*, and grant him the sorry superiority which undoubtedly he has over the slave—of superiority of wretchedness! The peculiarity of the negro character is, we grant, one cause of their total exemption from care. Over-grown children, living only in to-day, thoughtless of to-morrow, living only in the moment as it flies, they are, both in their virtues and their weaknesses, eminently fitted for their position. Children in mind, with the bodily strength of the man, what a gigantic corporeal power, unsubdued by intellect, would, by the emancipation of such a people, be let loose upon the community. Bread, food, raiment, they must have. The privileges of the freeman, (i. e., in their vocabulary, the right to live idle and luxuriously,) they would grasp at; need we paint the scenes of robbery, murder, devastation and riot that would follow!

Could the negro be excited to rebellion, it is evident enough that a sudden fate would terminate his career in all countries where the climate would allow the white man to live and thrive without him. The only question, then, that remains, is as to the result, where his labour is necessary to the soil. The result of attempts to cultivate Jamaica with white labourers is sufficiently known. Mr. Knox cites failure upon failure of a similar kind in similar climates, and then asks:

“Is it that there exists a vast region of the earth, the richest in all respects, the most productive, which the European cannot colonize; cannot inhabit as a labourer of the earth, as a workman, as a mechanic? From which, should he expel the coloured aboriginal races, he also must quit or cease to live? which he requires to till with other hands? It would seem so, and all history proves it.”

Then, it must follow as a certain corollary, that in all such portions of the globe in which the white races are established, either the two races must continue in juxtaposition, (and such juxtaposition can only be maintained by slavery,) or the white race must be expelled to make way for the black.

Is this, then, the consummation aimed at? It is well when a great move is contemplated upon the grand chess-board of the world, that such a move should be weighed,

meditated upon, and examined in its bearings. The plans of abolitionism carried to their climax lead inevitably to negro dominion wherever negro labour is necessary for the cultivation of the soil. The steps to this will be through blood. Only wading knee-deep in the blood of the white man can negro rule be established. St. Domingo is a case in point. Is it one which shows so brightly on history's page, that the civilized world should combine to produce *fac-similes* of it? Can it indeed be that "were a million of slaveholders cut off in cold blood to-morrow, there would fall no tear of sympathy?" By what fanaticism can it be that in order to establish new empires of Hayti, civilized men would seek to inundate in blood, the fairest portions of *God's* earth! Their madness would light the torch of the most fearful servile war that ever imagination could paint,—and for what? That barbarism may sweep back into her fold the half-redeemed negro, who, after destroying his white rulers, and aping for a while the pageants of their power, sinks back into his natural insignificance, and slaughters, fights and starves in lawless brutality.

And the white races,—the civilized world,—this secondary portion of humanity, upon which fanaticism has no time to think,—do we not see that it too must stagger beneath the blow, like the stricken victim staggering to its death. Dares any man look into the future, and say what would be the result upon the civilized world, of the failure of two cotton crops? and dares any man who has spent six months of his life in attending to the growth and management of that crop, pretend that the cessation of it would not be the certain result of negro emancipation? These things are below the consideration of fanatic visionaries who, seeing wreck and ruin hurled over the universe, would take the confusion wrought by their own folly, only as a sign, perhaps, of the coming day of judgment, and, arrayed in white robes, would go upon hill tops to wait for immediate ascension to heaven as the reward of their zeal. But sober men, who cannot believe that this beautiful world was made to be upset by the Utopian dream of every madman, can they not see, and seeing, can they not cease to sit listlessly contemplating the deluge of barbarism which blind fanaticism is drawing down upon the world? Is this a point to be put in the balance with the privilege of shuffling

the cards, or casting the die in a game of President-making? These are no freaks of fancy, but things of sober thought, which come upon us in the midnight watch, and make us shudder at the coming ills which lower o'er us, as the wildest threats of some unlicensed dream.

A more momentous question has never before agitated the world. Rather too large it is, for the comprehension of gentlemen who "make it the business of their lives to superintend the passage of runaway slaves" from State to State; rather too large for the petty optics of interested politicians, who, burrowing in the blind paths of selfish policy, know not that, in their eager and unprincipled plottings, they may, like the mole under the princely castle, be drawing down over their own heads a ruin too vast for their cramped and grovelling policy to understand. Yet thus it is; while he who foresees, can, alas! do but little to prevent the princely wreck. *God* only knows the future. Our harrassed minds, cast to and fro, 'twixt hope and fear, vainly would pierce its mysteries; vainly interrogate the heavens and the earth. Cast back upon ourselves, we can only gaze and tremble at the lowering darkness of our threatened destiny.

"Solemn before us
Veiled the dark portal,
Stars silent rest o'er us;
Graves under us, silent."

L. S. M.

ART. V.—PHYSICAL SCIENCE, IN ITS RELATION TO NATURAL AND REVEALED RELIGION.

1. *The Earth and Man*. Lectures on Comparative Physical Geography, in its relation to the History of Mankind. By ARNOLD GUYOT, Professor of Physical Geography and History, at Neufchatel, Switzerland. Translated from the French, by C. C. FELTON, Professor in Harvard University. Boston. 1849.
2. *Lake Superior*; its Physical Character, Vegetation and Animals compared with those of other and similar regions. By LOUIS AGASSIZ. With a narrative of the tour, by J. ELLIOT CABOT, etc. Boston. 1850.
3. *Principles of Zoology*. By LOUIS AGASSIZ and AUGUSTUS A. GOULD. Boston. 1848.

It is not many years since that Science was viewed with a jealous eye by those who valued the great truths of Revelation, as recorded in the sacred Scriptures, and her progress in a measure retarded by the odium which her supposed antagonism to Christianity incurred. Nor was this odium altogether without a just reason. Science began to unfold her discoveries whilst yet the old spirit of infidelity and scepticism of the last century were in existence. As men's minds began to be actively employed in investigating the works of nature, and discovery after discovery was announced, they were immediately seized upon by the infidel and tortured to suit the theories of his own fanciful creation.

This was more especially the case in Astronomy and Geology. When the telescope brought to view worlds and systems of worlds infinitely greater than our own planetary system, and displayed upon the map of the heavens our own habitable globe as only one star among many thousands, it was asserted that our earth was too insignificant a spot for such special manifestations of divine agency as our Bible had taught us to believe, and that the Great Architect who had framed the wonderful mechanism of the universe would not deign to bestow a thought upon the inhabitants of one orb so small as this our globe. But when the microscope revealed to us a world of organized beings, beneath and around us, and yet beyond the reach of unaided vision—beings endowed, like ourselves, with special adaptations for enjoyment,

and all bearing alike the impress of the great creator of all things—it taught a lesson to presumptuous man that great and small are only relative terms, suited to his limited faculties, and that the display of God's creative energy was not bounded by the horizon of his natural vision. So, also, in the early days of Geology, when investigations into the structure of the earth had brought to light a number of phenomena, which required for their solution a period of time much greater than that usually assigned for her age, and indicating an antiquity immeasurably beyond the received chronology, these facts were seized with avidity by the infidel, and proclaimed as inconsistent with the sacred records. Further investigations and more accurate knowledge, both of the works and of the word of God, have established the fact, that not only is there no antagonism, but rather a harmony, a concordance and a mutual strengthening of each other.

Geology teaches that, for ages anterior to the creation of man, our earth was the abode of living beings, whose remains are now found imbedded in the solid rock. That these races of animals and plants were called into existence at successive periods of time—that they lived through their generations, in the order of their allotted course—and that they finally died out and became entirely extinct. It is a curious but well authenticated fact, that there are no animals or plants now inhabiting the earth, of the same species with those which lived in the earlier periods of her history. They all became extinct, previous to the appearance of man upon the stage of existence, and Geology, as well as the Bible, proclaims him to be the last, as well as the most perfect, of God's creatures.

Fallible man may err in his interpretation of some portion of the sacred text, and thus, for a time, discordance may exist; but if we have full faith that the works of God, as seen through nature, must be consistent with His revealed word, as they are both emanations from the same supreme intelligence, we need have no fear that the faith which the Christian holds more precious to him than life itself can be exposed to any jeopardy. The truths which Science announces *must* be in concordance with the truths which He has revealed to us in the Scriptures. God cannot speak a different language in His *works* and in His *word*.

But Science is not content to remain neutral and passive.

Her mission, too, is a high one. Standing, as it were, in the very presence of the Great Creator, and gazing, with constant and ever increasing admiration at the wonderful manifestations of Supreme Intelligence and Supreme Goodness, as displayed in the works of nature, how shall her voice be dumb when all around is rising the incense of silent praises to the great Author of all things. She, too, claims the high privilege, as the expounder of his works, of bringing to his footstool the tribute of homage and adoration. She, too, is ready to raise her voice and say, "Worthy art thou, O Lord, to receive honour and glory and blessing ! for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created."

It has been truly said, "the indevout Astronomer is a madman." Not Astronomy only, but nature, through all her works, proclaims, "the hand that made us is divine." And here may be found the secret of that earnest devotion which the lover of nature everywhere exhibits—a zeal which is scarcely understood by those who have never studied the beautiful laws of harmony and the wonderful evidences of contrivance and design displayed throughout the whole system of creation. The humble weed which we tread under our feet, no less than the gorgeous flower which delights the eye, has a charm for the naturalist, because they both equally contain, in their structure and in their adaptation to the purpose for which they were formed, unequivocal evidence of supreme wisdom and foresight. The thousand little beings which sport in a drop of water, or the ephemeral motes which float in a sunbeam, and play out their allotted hour in the intense activity of enjoyment, bear as strongly the impress of omnipotent wisdom as the larger animals, whose duration on the stage of life is more prolonged. Indeed, it is this impress of the finger of God upon his works which gives to their study a dignity which the mere labours of man cannot claim. We trace His footsteps, as it were, through all the varied walks of nature, and, if we follow with a seeking mind, we shall be led to admire and adore Him here as assuredly as in any other manifestations of His greatness.

We cannot better exhibit the spirit which governs the naturalist than to quote the words of one who, perhaps more than any living man, has studied the works of God, as seen through nature, and is therefore well qualified to

bear his testimony. In his work on Zoology, Prof. Agassiz holds this language :

“ The enumeration and naming of the animals which are found on the globe, the description of their forms, and the investigation of their habits and modes of life, are the principal, but by no means the only objects of this science. Animals are worthy of our regard, not only when considered as to the variety and elegance of their forms, or their adaptation to the supply of our wants ; but the animal kingdom, as a whole, has a still higher signification : *It is the exhibition of the divine thought, as it is carried out in one department of that grand whole, which we call nature* ; and, considered as such, it teaches us the most important lessons.

“ Man, in virtue of his twofold constitution, the spiritual and the material, is qualified to comprehend nature. Having been made in the spiritual image of God, he is competent to rise to the conception of His plan and purpose, in the works of creation. Having also a material body, like that of animals, he is also prepared to understand the mechanism of organs, and to appreciate the necessities of matter, as well as the influence it exerts over the intellectual element, throughout the whole domain of nature.

“ The spirit and preparation we bring to the study of nature is not a matter of indifference. When we would study with profit a work of literature, we first endeavour to make ourselves acquainted with the genius of the author ; and, in order to know what end he had in view, we must have regard to his previous labours, and to the circumstances under which the work was executed. Without this, although we may perhaps enjoy the perfection of the whole, and admire the beauty of its details, yet the spirit which pervades it will escape us, and many passages may even remain unintelligible.

“ So, in the study of nature, we may be astonished at the infinite variety of her products, and may even study some portion of her works with enthusiasm, and nevertheless remain strangers to the spirit of the whole, ignorant of the plan on which it is based ; and may fail to acquire a proper conception of the varied affinities which combine beings together, so as to make of them that vast picture, in which each animal, each plant, each group, each class, has its place, and from which nothing could be removed without destroying the proper meaning of the whole.”—*Principles of Zoology*, by Agassiz and Gould, pp. 1 and 2.

It is, then, as the expression of a thought in the divine mind (if we may be permitted to use the phrase) that we are to study the works of nature. It is to seek out this thought, to trace this plan, and thus to endeavour to comprehend his great purpose. And as we rise to the contemplation of the grand harmonies of nature and history,

“the spectacle of the good and beautiful, reflecting every where the idea of the Creator, calms and refreshes the soul. The view of the hand of Providence, guiding the chariot of human destinies, reassures and strengthens our faith.”*

If we look around us, we shall find, everywhere, evidence of forethought, design, and adaptation of means to ends. In the works of nature, these evidences are so common, so multiplied, that the difficulty is not in seeking for them, but in making the selection. We shall find, for instance, as a prevailing condition everywhere, a peculiar vegetation covering the surface of the soil, except where the hand of man has interfered, and as soon as that interference ceases the natural laws resume their sway. This vegetation furnishes food for the whole animal kingdom. Without it animal life could not exist upon our earth. Here, then, is a purpose, a design, a relation. But this relation of the vegetable to the animal world is not confined simply to its office as food. As we take a more extended view, these relations become more multiplied, more comprehensive, so as to exhibit a connection, a combination of relations, of causes and effects, which stamp a feature of design upon the whole, and make, out of this very complexity, one grand harmonious unity.

Besides its valuable office as food to animals, it supplies man with his fuel, in the form of wood or coal, without which, for warming his body and cooking his food, he could not possibly subsist in the temperate and cool regions: and it is in the temperate and cool regions of the earth that man has attained his highest state of civilization. It furnishes him, also, with materials for building a shelter for himself, and for those numberless uses to which it is applied in the arts and in medicine, thus contributing to his bodily health and to his progress in civilization and in the comforts of life.

But, besides these offices, vegetation acts a yet more important part, in preserving the atmosphere pure, and fit for the maintenance of animal life. The atmosphere consists of oxygen, nitrogen, and a small proportion of carbonic acid gases. Animals, at every respiration, inhale atmospheric air, the oxygen of which, uniting with the carbon in the waste tissues of the body, is exhaled in the

* Guyot.

form of carbonic acid gas. This is constantly going on. Now carbonic acid, or fixed air, is poisonous to the lungs, when taken in any quantity, and, were there no provision made for preventing its accumulation, the air would, in the course of time, become unfit to support animals. But vegetables inhale, or imbibe through their leaves, the atmospheric air, retaining the carbon, which goes to make woody matter, and exhaling or rejecting the oxygen. The carbon which the animal rejects is taken up and appropriated by the vegetable, and the oxygen rejected by the vegetable is the element necessary to the animal. Thus, the animal and vegetable world react upon each other, in keeping up this equilibrium and preserving the atmosphere in a state suitable to the existence of both—a beautiful instance of the dependence and harmony which prevails through the works of creation.

But if the vegetable kingdom plays such an important part in the economy of nature, we ought to expect to find evidences of contrivance and design in adapting it to the various conditions of climate, of heat and cold, of dryness and moisture, etc., which prevail in different parts of the earth's surface. And such is the case, when we take a comprehensive view of the Flora of the world.

In the extreme northern regions, where there is but little of animal life, we find the vegetable kingdom represented by a few dwarfish plants, mostly trailing on the surface, and protected by the mosses and lichens from the keen blasts of a freezing atmosphere. The dwarfish surface plants and hardy lichens are here the prevailing types. As we come further south vegetation increases—the hardy grasses make their appearance, and furnish food to the large number of graminivorous and herbivorous animals which inhabit these high latitudes—the forests of pine and fir now appear, with their needle-shaped leaves, which seem peculiarly designed to withstand the sleets and snows of those regions.

In the temperate regions vegetable life increases in the abundance and variety of its forms—the forest trees with wider and deciduous leaves prevail—the summers are warm, and nature is tempted to indulge for a while in a tropical garb; but winter comes with its chill blasts, the summer leaves are all cast, and the buds sealed up safely, until spring quickens them again into activity. This may be considered the transition region from the needle-shaped

leaves of the frozen zone to the broad foliaceous leaves of the tropics.

As we approach the tropics, the influence of that life-giving heat of the sun brings forth the animal and vegetable world in most exuberant profusion. Nature seems struggling to display itself in gorgeous attire, and in its greatest diversity. The magnificent palms, with their graceful pendant foliage, the parasitic climbers, and the succulent juicy plants, are the prevailing forms which give a characteristic feature to the flora.

Nor is there less to admire in the wonderful contrivances and arrangements exhibited throughout the vegetable world for propagating and continuing its existence. Most plants are propagated by seeds: and here is presented the greatest diversity in size, figure and aptitude for their various conditions. Some are provided with feathery appendages, by which they may be wafted for miles by the winds; others have horny, impervious envelopes, which enable them to be transported by currents to great distances, without vitality being destroyed. The mistletoe, that pirate among plants, that feeds only upon the juices of others, does not require the soil, as other plants do, for germinating the seed, for there the young shoot would come into existence in a place unsuited to its support. It wants a lodgment upon the limb of some living tree, and lo! we have a new provision, specially designed for accomplishing that object. Each seed, when ripe, is enveloped in a viscous covering, which causes it to adhere firmly to any object on which it may fall. In this way a large tree may become infested, in a few years, from a single shoot.

The seeds of the Pine, unlike most others, germinate in autumn soon after they fall to the ground;—were it otherwise, few would escape the ravages of insects, birds and other animals until spring. Some seeds, like the acorn, hickory-nut, etc., are too heavy to be transported by winds or water, and are, therefore, more confined to limited ranges. Others, as the fungus tribe, contain spores too small to be seen with the naked eye, and are disseminated everywhere.

Again—all seeds contain within their envelope, the embryo or germ of the future plant, its Plumula and Radicle, (its stem and root.) Exterior to, and surrounding this germ, is stored away the food upon which it is to

subsist, until it can form a root, and draw nourishment from the soil. This is called the Cotyledon or seed leaf. Some have but one, as the grasses and cereal grains. It remains under ground and nourishes the plant there, as in the Indian corn. A large majority of plants have two, of which the cotton, bean, etc., and most forest trees, are examples. They first appear on the surface of a whitish colour, and differing in shape from the future leaves. As the plant begins to draw nourishment from the soil by its root, they gradually become green, and at length perish. Their office has ceased. Some few have many cotyledons, as the pine. The number of these cotyledons or seed leaves, has been found to bear so constant a relation to certain obvious characters in the plants, that Botanists have adopted it as a basis of classification for the vegetable kingdom. The monocotyledenous plants, or those with one cotyledon, receive additions to their growth from within. The dicotyledenous, or those with two cotyledons, increase in growth from new layers being deposited on the outside between the bark and old wood.

But these are only a few examples taken for illustration. Every seed, every plant, every animal, contains within itself special manifestations of forethought and design, of adaptation for a particular purpose, of means for ends, of cause for effect. And not only does each seed, plant and animal, contain within itself this completeness of structure, this perfection as an individual for performing its part, but when considered as a link in the great chain of nature, it bears the most diversified and complex relations with all other created things. The leaf is adapted to an atmosphere composed just as the one in which it is placed, and could exist and flourish in no other. The seed requires darkness, moisture and warmth, before it can germinate, and the soil alone furnishes these conditions. The eye is formed specially to receive rays of light, the ear to receive impression of sound, but only through the medium of just such an atmosphere as we have. Were the earth of greater density than it now is, we would not be able to support the weight of our bodies, constituted as they are. Were it of less density, the power of gravitation would be so feeble, that we could not walk steadily. *Every thing is related to every thing.* Thus we see through all nature, a mutual dependence, a mutual relation, a mutual re-action, of each individual part upon

the entire whole, so that if there were not the nicest adjustments of organs for the functions which they have to perform—of parts for the individuals of which they are composed—of means for the ends to be accomplished—there would be nothing but chaos and discord.

Is all this harmony the result of mere *accident*? Is the law without the lawgiver—the mechanism without the architect—the creation without the Creator? The Atheist, with his doctrine of *chances*, has no stand point in the whole range of physical science. The Naturalist disowns him. Or can the rational mind rest satisfied in referring all these effects to the law of *development*—to the agency of *physical causes*, which, once set in motion, are capable of combining, transforming and moulding all these heterogeneous elements into one unique, harmonious whole?

No! the evidence of a superintending mind, governing, controlling and directing all things, and indicating one vast purpose, is too plainly stamped upon every page of His works for us to disregard them. It is here we are to seek that expression of His thought. We must look through nature up to Nature's God.

In elucidation of the plan which we have proposed, let us select for consideration the earth, its structure, and its adaptation to the organized beings which are found upon it, as taught by Geology and Physical Geography.

When we examine, for the first time, the materials of which the surface of the earth is composed, we are apt to suppose that the rocks, gravel, sand, etc., which we see, are all brought together without order or purpose.

If, however, we extend our search beneath the surface, we shall soon find our error. Geologists have ascertained that there are certain rocks, or strata of rocks, found in different parts of the world, which are constituted alike, are composed of the same materials, and may readily be recognized by certain characters. Granite, marble, chalk, etc., in whatever different parts of the earth they are found, consist of the same materials. They find, moreover, that there is a certain order in their arrangement—that when one rock, or one stratum of rocks, is found beneath another in one place, it always preserves that relative position in every place where both are found. They have ascertained also that these deposits, or series of rocks, differ very much from one another, in the manner of their formation, in the materials of which they are

composed, and in the fossil remains which are imbedded in them. The term rocks, comprehends all the materials which compose the crust of the earth, whether soft or hard, loosely aggregated or cemented together.

If we take, for instance, a vertical section of the earth's surface, where the different stratifications are exhibited, we shall find, beginning first with those lowest in the scale, what are called by Geologists the Plutonic or igneous rocks. They consist of granite principally, and are supposed to have been once in a melted state, and on cooling at the surface, formed the original crust of the globe.

Next above them, are found deposits of clay slates, gneiss and statuary marble. From their stratified appearance, they are supposed to have been sedimentary rocks, which have undergone great changes from contact with the heated mass below. Hence, they have been called Metamorphic rocks. No trace of organic remains, either of animals or plants, have been found in any of these formations. It is supposed that the earth, at this epoch, was not in a condition fit to support any organized beings. It was in a state of transition—it was becoming prepared for its future tenants. If we consider the immense thickness of these beds, and the slow rate at which sedimentary matter is formed in our present rivers and seas, we shall be compelled to assign a long period of time for these, the oldest of the stratified series. These rocks are frequently seen tilted at all angles to the horizon, sometimes violently contorted and folded upon each other. As it is the nature of sedimentary matter to be deposited originally from water in horizontal strata, they bear evidence of violent forces acting from beneath, and disturbing their original position. These evidences of disturbing forces are not confined to the earlier ages of the earth, although they are there more frequent, but may be traced through all the later formations.

Next in the series, we find strata which bear evident marks of being sedimentary deposits from the ancient seas and oceans. They contain the first fossil remains, the first appearance of animal life upon the earth, and are known to Geologists as the Primary fossiliferous formation. It is a curious fact, that no remains of air-breathing animals have ever been found in these rocks. The fossils

are all of marine origin, and of the lowest forms of animal life.

The fishes are the only representatives of vertebrate animals, and they differ very materially from the fishes of our age. They are of imperfect organization, and evidently hold the lowest rank in the scale of fishes, as the fishes do in the scale of vertebrate animals. The common gar-fish, found only in the fresh water streams of North America, is interesting to the Naturalist, as being one of the very few representatives left of a class of fishes which prevailed so extensively in earlier ages.

All the other classes in the animal kingdom are represented in these rocks by their fossil remains—the Molusks or shell-fish, the Radiata or star-fish, and the Articulates or worms ;—but they are all of the very lowest types in their respective classes.

We see, then, that on the first introduction of life upon our globe, the animals are all marine. Perhaps the land was not in a fit condition for supporting animal or vegetable life, from the frequency and violence of the convulsions, evidences of which we so commonly meet with in the rocks of these ages. The types, too, are all of the simplest form, of the lowest organization. Prof. Agassiz, who has investigated this subject very deeply, has conclusively shown that these early forms of animal life bear a close resemblance to the embryonic forms of the animals of our time. That the full grown animals of those days, have their counterpart now, only in the embryo forms of the present creation. And, as we see in the individual life of an animal, a continual progress of growth, a strengthening and perfecting of parts—a development one after another, of the functions of life from birth to maturity—we hence discover a law by which one animal may be compared with another. The animals of these early days, whose analogues are found only in the embryonic forms of existing animals, are, therefore, said to be of low and imperfect organization. We have here the types of the future creation. The plan has begun to unfold itself—the thought in the divine mind is finding expression in the plastic forms of animal life. We must heed these types, for they are prophetic, as all types are prophetic. It is a chosen way that God speaks to us through nature and through history, through His works and through His word.

Next, in ascending order, comes the secondary formation, composed of various strata, of which the Carboniferous or coal formation, the Oolitic, the Trias, and the Cretaceous or chalk formation, are the principal. We here find the remains of a magnificent vegetation. The land has emerged from the waters, and is preparing itself for its future tenants. Man is not forgotten ;—and unnumbered ages before his birth, is sealed up for him a bountiful supply of coal for future wants. We find also in this formation the remains of gigantic reptiles, far surpassing in size any thing known among existing animals, and resembling in form the lizards and alligators of the present day. The cretaceous or chalk formation, which is the highest and latest of the secondary series, is of immense thickness. It is supposed to have been deposited in a sea of great depth, from the debris, or wearing away, of the older limestones of the metamorphic series. The remains of microscopic animals have been found to enter largely into the composition of chalk ; and when we consider their vast profusion at the present day, and the effects which these and the small coralline Polypes can accomplish, in building up reefs and islands from the bed of the ocean, we are prepared to acknowledge their agency in these old formations. We have here further evidences of great periods of time required for the deposition of all this sedimentary matter. Indeed, the proofs of the great antiquity of the earth, which meet the Geologist at every step in his investigations, are of so conclusive a nature, and demand for their solution such immeasurably long time, that he cannot venture to assign any definite period for the age of the earth. The mind becomes lost in contemplating such vast cycles of duration, and can only be satisfied in referring all to Him, with whom “a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years.”

Above the secondary, comes the Tertiary formation, consisting mostly of marls and limestones. The animals which had flourished during the deposition of the secondary formation had all become extinct. A new race of beings were brought into existence, continuing the same original plan, but differing widely in forms and habits. It indicates an approach to the existing state of things. The gigantic reptiles had died out, and their place is supplied by large terrestrial animals. The vegetation, too, partakes more of the character of the present Flora. The

types are improving, and every thing indicates progress and development.

At the end of the Tertiary period, succeeded one of those great geological events, which changed again the face of nature, and gave birth to the present state of things. Man now comes upon the stage of existence—man, with his twofold constitution, the animal and the intellectual, the material and the spiritual.

The types of animal life, which have been progressing and improving through the preceding ages, have at length reached their perfect development in him. But now a new feature is introduced in the plan of the creation. A new miracle attests the inexhaustible resources of the great Designer. Mind has come to dwell with matter. Spiritual life has taken up its abode in the perishing forms of animal nature. Body and soul—it is their first union here on earth.

Man is the link in the great chain which connects the two worlds, the visible with the invisible, the known with the unknown; the ladder planted upon earth which has scaled the heavens, and on which (as in a vision of old) the angels of God are ascending and descending. Man is a mystery to himself.

In the one nature, by his symmetry of form, his erect carriage and face uplifted, he comprehends all the excellencies of the type in the *animal* creation—to him they all point, and in him they are fulfilled. In the other nature, being made in the likeness of his Creator, “for God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul;” he possesses that type of *spiritual* life (imperfect though it be) which prompts him to high and holy aspirations, and to communion with his Maker.

To him alone, of all terrestrial beings, is vouchsafed that double type of the material and the immaterial, of the earthly and the heavenly, and with their possession, all the duties and responsibilities which they impose. We can trace in the life of individuals, as well as in the life of communities and nations through the historic period, the struggles and the conflicts of these two natures, and in proportion as that higher type is valued and developed, as that talent entrusted to his care is cultivated, so do we see man rising to the similitude of Him, in whose likeness he was created.

Thus "in the beginning His plan was formed, and from it He has never swerved in any particular. The same Being, who in view of man's moral wants, provided and declared, thousands of years in advance, that 'the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head,' laid up also for him in the bowels of the earth, those vast stores of granite, marble, coal, salt, and the various metals, the products of its several revolutions; and thus was an inexhaustible provision made for his necessities, and for the development of his genius, ages in anticipation of his appearance.*

Having thus traced through the successive acts of creation one great purpose, having for its aim and object the introduction of man, let us now turn our attention to the abode which was prepared for his reception, the theatre upon which he is destined to play his part. Let us examine its structure, its physical features, and its adaptation to the various stages of man's development, during his progress towards civilization.

Geology, the older science, traces the formation of the earth from the beginning, when all was chaos—the emergence of the great continental masses—the elevation of the mountain chains, and the contraction of the ocean waters to their present bounds and limits. It tells of the progress and growth of organic life, and the fossil remains found imbedded in the rocks are the hieroglyphics by which the Geologist deciphers the records of by-gone ages.

Physical Geography treats of the present state of the earth—of the characteristic forms of the continents and seas—of climatic influences, and of the connection of these phenomena with organic life, and especially with the historical development of the human species. It is a science of later date than Geology, but the labours of Humboldt, Ritter, Guyot, and others, have given it an importance scarcely inferior. To the last named individual, Prof. Guyot, we are indebted for a very interesting sketch of the present state of the science, in his *Lectures on "The Earth and Man"*—the first named work at the head of this article.

In studying the phenomena which this subject presents for consideration, we shall see the same harmonies and relations, the same evidences of design and purpose, as we have seen in the other departments of nature, all

* Agassiz' *Zoology*, page 206.

pointing with unerring precision to one supreme intelligence, which governs, controls and directs all things.

The results to which the study of Physical Geography leads us, may be summed up thus in the language of Prof. Guyot :

"1st. That the forms, the arrangement, and the distribution of the terrestrial masses on the surface of the globe, accidental in appearance, yet reveal a plan which we are enabled to understand by the evolutions of history.

"2d. That the continents are made for human societies, as the body is made for the soul.

"3d. That each of the northern, or historical continents, is peculiarly adapted by its nature, to perform a special part which corresponds to the wants of humanity in one of the great phases of its history.

"Thus nature and history, the earth and man, stand in the closest relations to each other, and form only one grand harmony."*

Let us now trace some of the physical phenomena which lead to these conclusions.

In looking at the map of the world, we observe—

1st. That there is a much larger proportion of land in the northern than in the southern hemisphere. And if, as Ritter has shown, we draw, instead of the equator, another great circle through the coast of Peru and the south of Asia, the globe will be divided into two hemispheres, of which one contains nearly all the land, the other nearly all the water.

That, 2dly, the great continental masses form two groups, the old and the new world, which offer very striking contrasts.

"The principal mass of the old world, Asia-Europe, stretches from east to west—America extends in its length from north to south. Hence, as a consequence of this arrangement, Asia-Europe extends through similar climatic zones, whilst America traverses nearly all the climatic zones of the earth, and presents, in this relation, a much greater variety of phenomena."†

3dly. In the law of reliefs, or line of gradual elevation of the surface above the ocean level, we find also a contrast. In the old world, the long slopes are turned towards the north, the short slopes towards the south. In the new, the long slopes are towards the east, the short

* *Earth and Man*, page 16.

† *Guyot, Earth and Man*, page 26.

slopes towards the west. The new world slopes towards the old, as if inviting communication.

If, 4thly, the great land divisions are examined in relation to the extent of their coast, as compared with their interior surface, we shall find a great difference, and a most interesting fact is, that those divisions of the earth, which have the greatest line of coast, which are most indented by gulfs, bays, inlets, etc., or, in other words, which offer the greatest facilities for intercourse and commerce, are the most advanced in civilization, whilst those which have the least extent of coast, and therefore more isolated and excluded from communication, are the least advanced.

The following table, calculated by Prof. Guyot, shows the number of square miles in the interior for one mile of coast, in each of the great land divisions.

Europe,	contains	156	square miles for one mile of coast.					
North America,	"	228	"	"	"	"	"	"
Australia,	"	290	"	"	"	"	"	"
South America,	"	376	"	"	"	"	"	"
Asia,	"	459	"	"	"	"	"	"
Africa,	"	623	"	"	"	"	"	"

Europe, then, is the continent most open to the sea, most inviting to commerce and communication from without. Africa is most simple in its form, closing itself, as it were, against all influence from without.

America, although not so much indented by inlets and arms of the sea, and therefore with a less proportion of coast line, as compared with Europe, has, in her immense system of inland lakes and rivers, facilities for intercommunication, of which the old world has nothing in comparison. From the Rocky Mountains and the Andes, to the Atlantic coast, there is one vast system of plains, pierced in every direction by navigable rivers, and marked out, as it were, by the hand of nature, for gigantic nations of one common blood and one destiny.

The old world is the region of plateaus, or vast table lands, and impassable mountain chains, breaking up the face of the country, and forming natural barriers and landmarks. The tendency here is to form distinct nations, bearing the impress of this very diversity in the natural conditions of the surface.

The ocean, too, has its part to play in this great law of life. By its currents, which are constant and regular, it

tends to equalize temperature, by carrying the cold waters of the frozen regions to the tropics. These, in turn, are taken back by returning currents, to diffuse their genial warmth to more rigorous climes.

From the constant evaporation going on by the solar heat, vapour is continually rising from the sea. This is taken up into the higher regions of the atmosphere, wafted about by winds, and upon meeting with air of lower temperature, forms into clouds, and is precipitated in the shape of rain. The ocean, then, is the great source of supply of moisture for the animal and vegetable kingdom. The excess is taken back by streams and rivers, and thus a constant circulation is kept up.

The atmosphere by its winds and currents, besides distributing the moisture of the seas over the continents, is tending continually to moderate and equalize the extremes of temperature over the globe. By a law of nature, which is almost of universal application, bodies when they become heated, expand and become lighter. The air of the tropics, warmed by the solar heat, expands and rises into the higher regions, and the heavier air of colder regions rushes in to supply its place. This would produce a north wind in the northern hemisphere, and a south wind in the southern hemisphere, if there were no disturbing causes. But these atmospheric currents are changed from that direction by the rotation of the earth on its axis from west to east.

"The speed of rotation, which is almost nothing at the poles, becomes greater for any place, in proportion to its proximity to the equator. The masses of air, which rush towards the equator, have there an acquired speed less than that of the regions towards which they are directing themselves. At each step, they are obliged to assume a greater rapidity of rotation; but, as in virtue of the law of inertia, a certain time is necessary for this to take place, they find themselves at every step a little behind hand, that is, they are a little further towards the west than would be the case without this circumstance. These successive retardations accumulating, change little by little the direction of the current from north to south of the northern hemisphere, into a south west direction, and the direction of the current from south to north of the southern hemisphere, into a north west direction. These two general currents, of north east and south east, encountering each other in the tropical zone, combine together, and there results a general current from east to west, which is the great trade wind."*

* *Earth and Man*, page 117.

These trade winds, if they meet with no obstruction, would blow uniformly and steadily through the year, over the whole earth; but the unequally diffused heat of the continents, high mountain chains and other local causes, modify and control their direction, and thus tend to produce diversity of climate, diversity of animal and vegetable productions.

We thus see that the land, the ocean and the air, act and react mutually upon each other; and by their various combinations and relations, by their contrasts and varieties, that infinite diversity of conditions is obtained so necessary to the full display of creative energy.

In considering the earth, therefore, as the habitation of man, for whom it seems more specially designed, we are prepared the better to comprehend the influence which all these phenomena exert upon his development, whether we consider the growth and decline of individual nations, or the great progress which the human species has made in the course of historic time.

The man of the tropical regions is enfeebled by excessive heat. He becomes indolent and thoughtless, for bountiful nature provides for all his wants without any exertion on his part.

The man of the frozen regions is compelled to toil—but it is toil for a bare subsistence—it is a struggle between life and death, and no time or inclination is left for the cultivation of his higher faculties.

It is the man of the temperate regions, blessed with a more genial clime, with alternations of heat and cold, with a more bracing air which incite him to constant struggle, to forethought, and to the vigorous employment of all his faculties—it is the man of the north temperate zone, who has been the great pioneer of civilization.

Tracing him from the central regions of Asia, which all tradition points to as the cradle of the human race, we find his growth has kept pace with his progress west. The few nations which strayed off to the east soon acquired their growth, and have remained stationary for more than a thousand years. As in the growth of precocious individuals, maturity was soon attained, but it is a dwarfish maturity when compared with that of the giant of the west. Follow him on. He passes his bounds and spreads over the countries of Europe. We quote the eloquent language of our author:

"America lies glutted with its vegetable wealth, unworked, solitary. Its immense forests, its savannas, every year cover its soil with their remains, which, accumulated during the long ages of the world, form that deep bed of vegetable mould, that precious soil, which only awaits the hand of man to work out all the wealth of its inexhaustible fertility. Meantime, the human race of the new world, the Indian, the primitive owner of these vast territories, shows himself incapable or careless of the work; never has he opened the soil with his ploughshare, to demand the treasure which it encloses. Hunting is his livelihood; war his holiday. Upon a soil able to support millions of men in plenty, a few scattered inhabitants lead a wretched existence in the bosom of the wilderness.

"Side by side, with so much unused wealth, see the old world, exhausted by long cultivation, overloaded with an exuberant population, full of spirit and life, but to whom severe labour hardly gives subsistence for the day; devoured by activity, but wanting resources and space to expand itself; and you will perceive that this state of things, that a disproportion so startling, cannot long exist. The gifts God bestows on man, He requires should be employed, and He takes from him who does not put it to use, the talent which has been entrusted to him.

"As the plant is made for the animal, as the vegetable world is made for the animal world, America is made for the man of the old world.

"Every thing in nature is admirably prepared for this great work. The two worlds are looking face to face, and are, as it were, inclining towards each other.

"The old world bends towards the new, and is ready to pour out its tribes, whom a resistless descent of the reliefs seems to sweep towards the Atlantic.

"America looks towards the old world; all its slopes and its long plains slant to the Atlantic, towards Europe. It seems to wait with open and eager arms, the beneficent influence of the man of the old world. No barrier opposes his progress; the Andes and the Rocky Mountains, banished to the other shore of the continent, will place no obstacle in his path. Soon the moment will come.

"The man of the old world sets out upon his way. Leaving the highlands of Asia, he descends from station to station towards Europe. Each of his steps is marked by a new civilization superior to the preceding, by a greater power of development. Arrived at the Atlantic, he pauses on the shore of this unknown ocean, the bounds of which he knows not, and turns upon his steps for an instant. Under the influence of the soil of Europe, so richly organized, he works out slowly the numerous germs wherewith he is endowed. After this long and teeming repose, his faculties are re-awakened, he is re-animated. At the close of the fifteenth century, an unaccustomed movement agitates and vexes him from one end of the con-

tinent to the other. He has tilled the impoverished soil, and yet the number of his offspring increases. He turns his looks at once towards the east and the west, and sets out in search of new countries. His horizon enlarges; his activity preys upon him; he breaks his bounds.

"Then recommences his adventurous career westward, as in the earliest ages. His intelligence has grown, and with it his power and hardihood. Under the guidance of the genius of the age, he attacks this dreaded ocean, of which, to this time, he knows only the margin. He abandons himself to the trade winds and the currents, which bear him gently towards the coast of America. He is enraptured as he treads the shore of this land of wonders, still more adorned in his eyes by all the fascinations his ardent imagination lends it."*

"Asia, Europe and North America, are the three grand stages of humanity in its march through the ages. Asia is the cradle where man passed his infancy, under the authority of law, and where he learned his dependence upon a sovereign master. Europe is the school where his youth was trained, where he waxed in strength and knowledge, grew to a man, and learned at once his liberty and his moral responsibility. America is the theatre of his activity during the period of manhood; the land where he applies and practices all he has learned, brings into action all the forces he has acquired, and where he is still to learn that the entire development of his being and his own happiness, are only possible by willing obedience to the laws of his Maker."†

But, whilst we behold with admiration this progress in the growth of man from his infancy, when he bowed down in worship to sensual objects, to the beasts of the earth, the sun, and moon, and stars, through his second stage, his youth, when the faculties and affections of his mind were deified, and his Olympus contained gods and goddesses to rule over every action of his life, to his glorious manhood, when he acknowledges and worships but the one true God, let us not overlook that great controlling power—that guiding genius which has followed him through the successive stages of his manhood's growth, and is yet beckoning him onwards to further and more glorious conquests. It is the genius of Christianity—the guardian angel of his opening powers—his pillar of light; it has followed him through all the devious courses of his way. It came to him when he was casting away the

* *Earth and Man*, pp. 208–211.

† *Idem.*, p. 304.

toys of his youth, and looking in vain amid the profound darkness for a gleam of light to guide his steps. The gods of the Greeks were fast losing their spell upon the minds of her philosophers; and the chosen people to whom had been committed "the living oracles of God," were found unworthy to bear any longer the ark of the covenant. It was then in the lowly vale of Judea, that the star of Bethlehem arose, the morning star of promise. There the meek form of the Saviour was seen proclaiming "peace upon earth and good will amongst men."

The illiterate fishermen of Gallilee catch up the tidings and go forth in the might of their Master to proclaim it to the world, and to subdue all the nations to him. To those nations only who have received this light, has been granted this progress in the march of improvement. All that is good and pure on earth—all that has prompted men to high and holy deeds, is to be found there. Beyond its horizon all is darkness, save where the few gleams of morning announce the approach of the Sun of Righteousness, which shall rise with healing on his wings to all nations—and then shall the whole earth be filled with his glory as the waters cover the sea.

We have thus endeavoured to point out some of the relations which exist between created things, to trace their peculiar adaptation to the parts which they have to perform—the nice adjustments which everywhere prevail, for preserving harmony and order, and thus to prove a vast purpose and plan, the effect of one first cause.

This brings us to the domain of natural religion—to the acknowledgment of one great Creator, who has made all things; one great Providence, who governs and preserves all things; one great prevailing Spirit, which directs, animates and harmonizes all things.

When we have reached this point in our investigations and appreciate its value—when we come to realize fully the idea of a God in nature—to see and admire His attributes of power, wisdom and goodness, as they are displayed for the well being of all His creatures, we have attained a point from which a transition to a belief in Revelation is easy and natural. We may confidently expect that His attribute of goodness, which we see so abundantly manifested, will be still further displayed in furnishing to man, as an accountable being, a guidance

in those duties, which result from the relations existing between his Maker and himself.

The subject of man's accountability, and of his being at present in a probationary state—a state of trial and preparation—is one which belongs more properly to mental philosophy. With the arguments which may be drawn from this source, and from the external or historic evidences, natural science, properly so called, has no connection. They are all different lines of thought, which ultimately lead to the same conclusion—independent rays of light, which converge, and finally blend in one bright spot. We shall confine ourselves simply to the teachings of science, to some of those analogies which exist between the works of God and nature, and his dealings with man, as recorded in the sacred Scriptures.

And first, we may deduce from the very constitution of man the probability of a direct revelation to him from his Maker. He, alone, of all terrestrial creatures, is endowed with a twofold nature. He possesses a consciousness that, besides his bodily frame, his mere animal nature, there is an immaterial principle within, which tells of its own existence. What are the bonds which hold these two natures together, and how they are united, he cannot tell. Their union is so complete that one cannot be affected without the other feeling the influence; and yet, at the same time, so independent, that whilst one is in a state of profound repose, the other may be roaming through the realms of space, or sweeping, in the twinkling of an eye, through the past, the present, or the future. Whilst one is subject to the laws of matter, the other can comprehend those laws.

Man, in his animal nature, though far superior to the brute creation, is nevertheless allied to them in the structure and constitution of his body. He has the same number of animal senses which they possess, and no more; though in each individual sense he is excelled by some one of the brute creation, yet in the combination of the whole, and in their aptitude for the service of an intelligent and thoughtful agent, he possesses a power which gives him mastery over them all. We find, in the mechanism of his body, organs which have special functions to perform, as they have, which are similar in their composition, and similar in the relations they bear to other parts. The processes of nutrition, respiration and reproduction

are more or less similar. He has an internal skeleton, which resembles in so many points the higher orders of the brute creation, that, in the classification of animals, he is placed at the head of the Vertebrata. In his flesh and blood, in his nervous system, in his hair, teeth, nails, etc., we trace the same general resemblances.

But man's reasoning powers are so highly developed that he is enabled to understand the mechanism of these organs. He can trace the resemblances which exist between his own and those of the lower animals, and thereby he can the better comprehend their structure. He can study their uses, the diseases to which they are subject, the dangers that are likely to befall them, and thus provide the better for his own welfare. He can investigate and understand the operations of natural laws, in so far as they can affect his bodily frame—the laws of force, of heat, light, electricity—in a word, all the natural phenomena with which he is placed in contact, and which might have an effect upon him. All these he is enabled, by his reason, to reach and understand, to appropriate the good or to avoid the hurtful.

Man, therefore, when he surveys the world of nature around him, when he understands the relations which exist between organized beings, and the natural laws which govern them, is furnished with a revelation, as far as his animal nature is concerned. Every thing that he sees teaches him a lesson—every day that he lives brings with it some new experience, by which he may profit, or from which he may take warning. The whole world of nature, then, as it is seen and comprehended through the animal senses, is a revelation to man of his wants, and of the means of gratifying those wants; of his duties, which result from his relations as a worldly creature, to other created things, and of the means of fulfilling those duties.

How far he has profited by this revelation, how he has moulded the crude materials around him into forms serviceable to his welfare, the triumphs of modern science abundantly testify. By training and cultivation, he has wrought, out of the rudest forms of the vegetable kingdom, the means, not only of subsistence but of luxury and refinement. He has studied the diseases to which his bodily frame is subject, and made all nature tributary in furnishing the means of curing or alleviating those diseases. He has tamed the fiery currents of electricity,

and made them his willing servants, to transmit his messages. With the simple elements of fire and water, he is able to generate a power which he can chain down to do the work his own hands must have done, or can harness to his car, and travel with the speed of the bird. In a word, all things around him are made subservient to his wants. He has obtained dominion over the whole world.

But this revelation goes thus far—no further. It leaves him with the wants of his higher nature still unsatisfied, with the duties of his spiritual life still undefined—still unexplained. Where shall he seek for this guide to his spiritual nature? The world cannot furnish it; his reason cannot aid him, for there is nothing in the whole realm of nature with which to compare it; his senses are at fault, for it is entirely beyond their cognizance. There is but one source from which he can obtain this light, and that source is the Fountain of Spiritual Life. The revelation must come to him from the Author and Giver of that life. It must be a direct communication from above; but, necessarily, it must stoop to come through the medium of human language, and address itself to human comprehension.

We infer, therefore, that as the attributes of Power, Wisdom and Goodness of the Creator are manifested every where, through the whole realm of nature, we may expect to see them specially manifested for the well-being of his highest and most intelligent creature, man; that, in consideration of man's twofold constitution, as the whole world around is a revelation to him of the wants and duties of the one, so we may confidently expect and look for a more direct revelation, to teach him of the wants and duties of the other. A revelation, then, from God to man, is based upon the highest grounds of probability. But, if there be such a revelation, may we not reasonably expect to see suggestions, resemblances, harmonies, between the works of God and the word of God—to be able to trace evidences of a common thought and a common plan—in a word, to find internal indications of their being emanations from the same Supreme Mind? It will be our endeavour to point out some of these analogies, and if we can succeed in establishing this harmony we shall have one of the strongest proofs that they are emanations from the same source, and that the God of nature and the God of the Bible are one and the same.

If we consider the constitutions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, we will learn that both are subject to a law of periodical repose. In the alternations of day and night, we have a shortly recurring period of rest. Animals find in sleep a cessation from their labours, and the means of restoring to a healthful state their wearied limbs. Plants (or rather all those which have green leaves) grow only under the influence of light. Their time of greatest activity is under the direct rays of the sun. Night, to them, is also a period of rest. Among the mushrooms, and other fungous tribes which have no green parts analogous to leaves, night is the time of growth, day that of rest.

But besides this daily-recurring period, we find that the alternation of seasons furnishes to the vegetable kingdom another and yet longer period of repose. In the temperate regions, where the leaves are cast in autumn, winter is the long season of rest. In the tropics, the change from the wet to the dry season furnishes a similar period of rest to vegetation. In the animal kingdom, we see this law showing itself in the hibernating habits of some, which is a complete state of rest; and we may discern traces of it in that instinct which prompts most animals, in cool regions, to lay up stores for winter use. It may also be said that, among animals, youth is the season of growth and activity, maturity that of rest. Periodical repose, therefore, is a law prevailing through the animal and vegetable kingdoms.

If we now turn to the sacred writings, we discover on its first pages, in the institution of the Sabbath, this very law which we see prevailing through nature. In the one day in seven set apart for rest, we have the shortly-recurring period, and in the Sabbatical year and in the jubilee (or weeks of years) we have the longer periods, analogous with those in nature.

Here, then, is an analogy which science affords to the truths of the Bible. The law of periodical rest which is observed through nature is known only by investigations into the habits and constitution of the animal and vegetable kingdom. The law of rest, as instituted in the Sabbath, is established entirely by revelation. They have no other connection, except that they indicate a common origin—a continuation of the same plan and purpose through the works and through the word of God.

In introducing the next analogy between nature and revelation, it will be necessary to explain the feature in the natural law which we wish to illustrate. In the beginning of this article allusion was made to the facts which geology had established with respect to the animals and plants which inhabited the præ-Adamite earth, and whose remains are now found imbedded in the solid rocks which compose the crust of our globe. These fossils have occupied the attention of naturalists very deeply, and, since the time of Cuvier, when the science of Comparative Anatomy was brought to bear upon the subject, their investigations have been attended with the most brilliant results. From the examination of a few bones, and with no other guide than that which comparative anatomy furnishes, naturalists can determine the nature of the animal to which they belong, and can sometimes restore the outline figure it possessed when living, and even indicate its habits and mode of life and the kind of food on which it subsisted. This has been done in several instances, and subsequent discoveries of more perfect specimens have verified their judgment. By inspection of the minutest fragment of bone or teeth, under the microscope, whether of living or extinct species, it may readily be known whether the animal was a reptile, a fish, a bird, or a mammal. Such are some of the triumphs which comparative anatomy has achieved in this department of nature.

But of late years a new science has sprung up, which has already produced the most wonderful results in regard to the whole animal economy, and is perhaps destined to give us a clearer view of the great plan upon which it is developed. I allude to the science of Comparative Embryology, which speaks of the changes and transformations that take place in the young of animals.

The principles of the science have been applied, with great success, by Professor Agassiz, in determining the relative rank which different animals are entitled to in the scale of being, and its application to the study of fossil remains promises the most brilliant results.

When we examine the successive changes which take place in the young of any animal, a bird, a fish, a reptile or a mammal, we discover a law by which we may compare these different animals with each other; and, as they conform more or less to the different stages of growth

with the embryo examined, we know that they are, accordingly, more or less imperfect, and their rank higher or lower, as the case may be. The early or young state of any animal is evidently more imperfect than its mature state. When, therefore, in comparing two animals together, we find that the one, in its mature or full-grown condition, resembles the other only in its young state, we conclude that this last is entitled to a higher rank. We will illustrate our meaning by an example mentioned by Prof. Agassiz, on the importance of these metamorphoses in classification:

"The sturgeon and the white-fish are two very different fishes; yet, taking into consideration their external form and bearing merely, it might be questioned which of the two should take the highest rank, whereas the doubt is very easily resolved by an examination of their anatomical structure. The white-fish has a skeleton, and, moreover, a vertebral column composed of firm bone. The sturgeon, on the contrary, has no bone in the vertebral column, except the spines or apophyses of the vertebræ. The middle part, or body of the vertebræ, is cartilaginous, the mouth is transverse and underneath the head, and the caudal fin is unequally forked, while in the white-fish it is equally forked. If, however, we observe the young white-fish, just after it has issued from the egg, the contrast will be less striking. At this period the vertebræ are cartilaginous, like those of the sturgeon, its mouth also is transverse and its tail undivided. At that period the white-fish and the sturgeon are therefore much more alike. But this similarity is only transient. As the white-fish grows, its vertebræ become ossified, and its resemblance to the sturgeon is comparatively slight. As the sturgeon has no such transformation of the vertebræ, and is in some sense arrested in its development, while the white-fish undergoes subsequent transformation, we conclude that, compared with the white-fish, it is really inferior in rank."*

This principle of embryonic development is now applied to the study of fossil remains, as compared with the animals of our day; and, as in their mature and fully grown state they are found to resemble the embryonic forms of the existing races of animals, the inference is that they are more imperfect in structure, and hold a lower rank in the scale of creation.

In tracing the history of organized beings through the successive epochs which geology points out, it had long

* Prin. of Zoology, by Agassiz and Gould, p. 149.

been observed that there was a certain gradation, a progress from inferior forms to the more perfect, as we approached the more modern times. Not that unbroken link of gradation between all animals, upon which Monbodo, Lamarck and others built up their theory of progressive development, by the agency of physical causes operating upon them, under favourable conditions, (this theory has been long exploded, and finds no supporters among the ablest naturalists of the age); but still a progress and gradation is observed, running, as it were, in parallel lines, through the four departments of the animal kingdom: for, in the earliest fossiliferous formation are found representatives of all these four departments, cotemporaneous with each other; but in each of these divisions the forms are generally the lowest and most imperfect in their respective classes. As we ascend in the series, and approach more nearly to the modern period, these forms improve, they become more and more like the animals of the present day in their mature state. And it is a most wonderful confirmation of the truth of embryology, that the order of progress which has been introduced into the character of these animals, at different successive periods, corresponds to the embryonic changes which take place among the recent animals.*

We here quote from Prof. Agassiz, "on the classification of animals," in his work on Lake Superior:

"In my researches upon fossil fishes, I have on several occasions alluded to the resemblance which we notice between the early stages of growth in fishes and the lower forms of their families, in the full-grown state, and also to a similar resemblance between the embryonic forms and the earliest representatives of that class in the oldest geological epochs—an analogy which is so close that it involves another most important principle, viz: that the order of succession in time, of the geological types, agrees with the gradual changes which the animals of our day undergo during their metamorphoses, thus giving us another guide to the manifold relations which exist among animals, allowing us to avail ourselves, for the purpose of classification, of the facts derived from the Developments of the whole animal kingdom, in geological epochs, as well as the development of individual species in our epoch.

"At present there is some doubt among Zoologists as to the respective position of the classes of worms, insects and crustacea,

* Agassiz's *Lecture on Comparative Embryology*, p. 169

some placing the crustacea and others the insects uppermost. Embryonic data may afford the means of settling this question. We need only remember the extensive external changes which insects undergo, from their earliest age, and the many stages of structure through which they pass, whilst crustacea are less polymorphous during the different periods of their life, and never obtain an aerial respiration, but breathe through life with gills, which many larvæ of insects cast before they have accomplished their metamorphosis, to be satisfied that the affinity between crustacea and worms is greater than between worms and insects, especially if we consider some parasitic types of the former. As soon as the higher rank of insects among *Articulata* is acknowledged, many important relations, which remain otherwise concealed, are at once brought up.

"The whole type of insects, in its perfect condition, contains only aerial animals, whilst the crustacea and worms are chiefly aquatic. And if we compare these three classes in a general way, we cannot deny the correctness of the comparison made by Oken, that worms correspond to the larvæ state of insects, crustacea to their pupa state, and that insects pass through metamorphoses corresponding to the other classes of *Articulata*.

"If there is any internal evidence that the whole animal kingdom is constructed upon a definite plan, we may find it in the remarkable agreement of our conclusions, whether derived from anatomical evidence, from embryology, or from palæontology. Nothing, indeed, can be more gratifying than to trace the close agreement of the general results, derived from the investigation of their embryonic changes, or from their succession in geological times.

"Let Anatomy be the foundation of a classification, and in the main the frame thus derived will agree with the arrangement introduced from embryological data. And again, this series will express the chief features of the order of succession in which animals were gradually introduced upon our globe. Some examples will show more fully that this is really the case. Resting more upon the characters derived from the nervous system, which, in the crabs, is concentrated into a few masses, Zoologists have generally considered these animals as higher than lobsters, in which the nervous ganglia remain more isolated. Now, as far as we know, the embryos of brachyuran crustacea, that is, of crabs, are all macrural in their shape, that is to say, they resemble, at an early age, the lobsters more than their own parents. And, again, lobster like crustacea prevailed in the middle ages of geological times, during the Triassic and Oolitic periods, that is, ages before crabs were created, as we find no fossils of that family before the Tertiary period."*

If we bear in mind these facts—and they are capable

* *Lake Superior*, pp. 196 and 197.

of such a variety of proofs and illustrations that we can scarcely admit a doubt of their correctness—we may see, in these earliest forms of life, the models, as it were, after which the future races of animals were fashioned—the idea, in the divine mind, upon which the mechanism of animated nature is based. And, as one race after another lives through its generations, and finally becomes extinct, and another is created, which takes up the features of the preceding, but goes on still further towards perfection, we have a most beautiful confirmation of that law, which we endeavoured on another occasion to illustrate, of forethought and purpose exhibited in the structure of organized beings. This plan, commenced in the beginning, when, out of chaotic matter the first forms of life were summoned forth by the fiat of the Creator, continued with unswerving fidelity for ages upon ages, has never been lost sight of. Through the countless generations of living beings that have inhabited our globe, there is the all-prevailing Idea—in endless variety, one pervading uniformity—a unity, pointing upwards to one First Cause—and a diversity, which proclaims that Cause to be Omnipotence.

We see, then, from the beginning, a series of types, running through the whole system of animated nature—types which gradually unfold themselves as the great scheme proceeds. They are prophetic types, for they point to the future—they look forward, as it were, to a more perfect state. They are accumulative and progressive, for each succeeding act of nature epitomises, as it were, the preceding stages, until, in the fullness of time, man, who is himself an epitome of the preceding creation, comes forth, to take his place at the head of all.

Can we find here that uniformity between the works of nature and revelation which would point to a community of origin, as both being emanations from one Supreme Mind? Do we see any such features as those we have been describing, in the plan which the sacred writings reveal? The Bible is full of them. The whole of revelation is one grand system of types and images, prefiguring the future—a great plan, which gradually unfolds itself as it proceeds.

If we could imagine one placed in the position of a spectator from the beginning, and surveying these early forms of animal life, these germs, as it were, of the future

creation, we could readily understand the difficulty he would be under in decyphering their meaning. Even if he knew they were prophetic forms, which looked towards the future, how could he comprehend the purpose which was yet unannounced? How could he know in what direction this stream of life, of which he only saw the fountain source, should flow on through the ages of the future? in what endless diversity of forms the thought in the Divine Mind would find expression?

But, standing as we do at a higher stage in the progress, when the plan has been partially fulfilled, we are in a position to comprehend more clearly the meaning which they convey—the aim to which they point. So with regard to some of the types and figures in which the truths of revelation are announced—dark, perhaps, and mysterious though they be at first, they gradually open and unfold as time rolls on, until, in their complete and harmonious development, we, who live in these latter days, can look back through the past and see their perfect fulfillment written, as it were, with a pencil of light.

That we may examine more minutely this analogy which exists between the scheme of nature and the scheme of revelation, let us select for comparison that most important event which the Bible reveals, viz: the coming of Christ. On its first pages we have the mysterious promise made to fallen man, that “the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent’s head.” It is the first note of prophecy, and it announces victory over the powers of darkness. It comes to cheer man in his fallen state, and to assure him that he will not remain comfortless, guideless. We find it again in the offering up of Isaac, and the acceptance of a substitute in his place. Here the idea of mediation, of one bearing the penalty of another, is first distinctly put forth. Further on, in the institution of the ceremonial laws of sacrifice, we are reminded of that typical connection between the shedding of blood and the remission of sins; and, in the particular sacrifice of atonement where the high priest is commanded to slay one of the victims for a sin offering, and to confess over the other the sins of the people and send him away in the wilderness, we have the double type before us, of death for sin and of the forgiveness of sins through an accepted mediator.

When, in their journeyings through the wilderness, the

Israelites were plagued by the fiery serpents, Moses is commanded to set up a brazen serpent upon a pole, in view of the whole camp, and to which all who were bitten were commanded to look, that they might live. Here we have prefigured Him who was to be lifted up upon the cross, that He might draw all men unto Him and heal them.

Balaam bears his unwilling testimony to that star that should come out of Jacob, and the sceptre that should rise out of Israel, which, though not nigh, he yet knew he was to behold.

Job, in that beautiful burst of poetic vision, announces a yet clearer view of this mysterious event. He knows that his Redeemer liveth, and that He shall stand at the latter day upon the earth, and, though worms destroy his body, yet in his flesh shall he see God. Here the figure is hastening towards completion. There is to be a Redeemer, and that Redeemer is to stand at the latter day upon the earth. Observe, too, how collateral truths are unfolding. Balaam, also, was to see Him in the latter day; but Job was to see Him *in the flesh*.

David, in his Psalms, sings of Him who is to come. Isaiah and the later prophets take up the strain, and as the time draws near when all these prophetic types and figures are to find their completion in Him, of whom Moses and the prophets spake, the tones became bolder and more expressive. They look with longing eyes to that bright spot in the future, where the scattered rays of light, of which the old patriarchs and prophets caught but partial glimpses, are converging and blending their radiance. They often recur to, and dwell with lingering delight upon this rapturous picture, and, as the time still draws nearer and nearer, the view becomes more distinct, the vision brightens. It points to Bethlehem Euphrata as the honoured spot where the star of promise is to rise, and to which all eyes are now directed. It also tells of one who was to be His forerunner, to prepare the way. It recounts the incidents of His birth, of His coming in the flesh, and, with minute exactness, all the circumstances of His earthly career are faithfully portrayed. In mournful strains, it takes up the story of His sorrows. He is to be despised and rejected of men. He is to be wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities. We see Him here, in his humiliation and sufferings.

The vision changes—and, like the voice of the whirlwind, he sweeps by us in the awful majesty of His power, in glorious apparel, and in the greatness of His strength. He comes from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah. He has trodden the wine-press of His wrath alone, and His raiment is sprinkled with the blood of His enemies. He is now before us in the grandeur of His majesty. He stoops to heal the infirmities of men. The eyes of the blind are to be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped. But He has also a higher office. He is to be Emanuel, God with us. His name is to be Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.

This is but the vision—the reality is not yet. These are but the types and images which prefigure him. Their great Archetype is still undisclosed. Can we doubt where they point?

But the vision is now sealed for a time. The prophets are silent, and all the eyes are looking forward in anxious expectation for some great and glorious advent. Not the Jews only, but all who had intercourse with them, had gathered from the writings of the old prophets, that the time of the promised Messiah was at hand.

The types and images which announce Him, are all before them. Will they read them aright? Can all these diverse figures harmonize in one reality? Is the great Archetype to embody them all? and when he does appear, will they recognize Him?

Perhaps not—the human mind is prone to speculate upon the future—to have things as they should be, rather than as they are—the wish too often obscures the judgment.

They discerned the Prince who was to sit upon the throne of David—but they had no eye for the meek form of the man of sorrows. They retained the one figure and overlooked the other. They expected a temporal Messiah, who was to establish their kingdom in its former splendour. They would not read the types aright, and when the great original appeared, they failed to recognize Him.

How they have all been united and epitomised in him—how, in every particular, those prophecies which pointed to Him, have been fulfilled—how, “the stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner,” the concurrent testimony of the whole civilized world for 1800 years, abundantly testifies.

In our survey of the kingdom of nature, we saw, besides the types and figures which unfold as the scheme proceeds, that there was also the idea involved, of progress—development—improvement. The law of progress is distinctly a law of nature. Now when we turn to the Bible, we find this law of progress as distinctly announced in the successive manifestations of God to man, and His dealings with him.

Whilst man is in his infancy, and needs a guide to direct his steps, he is taken by the hand, as it were, and led forth to survey the world over which he was to have dominion. He looks up to his Maker as the King whom he serves, as well as the God whom he worships. He has not yet learned to be independent. In the patriarchal form of government, which he finds, in his rude condition, to be well adapted to his wants and his intercourse with his fellow man, he makes the first step. After the return from the Egyptian captivity his condition is changed, and he makes another step in the progress of government. The twelve tribes are placed under the authority of judges. At length a kingly government is established, and the nation attains the height of its temporal power and greatness. But, in asking a king to rule over them, they had disregarded the claims of Him who had been a Governor and King to them—the sceptre departs from Israel, and has never returned to this day.

In the earliest forms of worship, we find Cain and Abel bringing their offerings to the Lord ; the one, of the fruits of the ground ; the other, of the firstlings of the flocks. At a later day, Abraham is represented as offering sacrifices to God ; but it was from Sinai, amid thunderings and the voice of earthquakes, that the law was announced. It came surrounded with all the imagery of authority—with the visible manifestations of the power of the Law-giver.

In the rites and ceremonies which were then established, we see the types of that better dispensation, which, in after times, was to take its place. They are sensual images, pointing forward to spiritual things.

Then there is the Tabernacle worship, which, in time, gives way to that of the Temple. The Temple worship continues, until that purer system, to which all these types had been looking, is fully established ; and that, too, falls to the ground, so that “not one stone is left upon another.”

It was the complete and utter destruction of the old system, with its rites and ceremonial laws, and the triumphant establishment of the Christian worship. Thus, as we look back through the records of the inspired narrative, we gather the same important lesson which a survey of the world of nature teaches. All things tell of progress.

In the natural world, Geology teaches that our earth has been the scene of many revolutions—of great cataclysms or convulsions, so terrific and powerful as to destroy utterly every form of animal and vegetable life at the time existing upon that portion of its surface, but followed at each time by a new act of creation, and a different race of beings. That the present races of animals and plants which now inhabit our earth, and of which man stands at the head, are the result of that act of creative power, which followed the last great desolation. And, as Geology furnishes proof in the past history of our globe of many of these great convulsions of the surface, and of the destruction of all life at the time existing, we may see in their recurrence, the traces of a great law, which, stretching back through the ages of the past, may still go on in operation through ages of the future.

The Bible is not silent on this point. It reminds us frequently of some terrible day of judgment in the future; of a day when the earth, and all that dwell therein, shall be destroyed. But St. Peter announces this fact, in the authoritative tones of inspiration, and tells us of what has been, as well as what is to be. He gives us a sketch of the past, which lends confirmation to the truths of science; and his prophetic announcement of the future, is only a just inference that science might have drawn from her own stores. Here are his words:

“There shall come in the last days, scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying—where is the promise of His coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.

“For this they willingly are ignorant of, that by the word of God, the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water; whereby the *world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished*—but the *heavens* and the *earth* which are *now*, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men.”

In looking still further for analogies, which the natural

world offers to the spiritual world, we may read an important lesson in the transformation which animals undergo. It speaks to us of change. The metamorphoses of insects are suggestive and instructive.

First, there is the worm, crawling on its feet—of the earth. Then, the chrysalis or pupa, cased in its shroud and motionless—an emblem of the grave. But this death is only transitory—it bursts its cerements, comes forth a new creature, and mounts into the air.

St. Paul takes the sowing of grain as illustrative of the resurrection. The grain cannot be quickened into life, except it die. It is laid in the ground, and after a season springs up with a new body—but how different is this new body from that which perished in the ground.*

Thus we see types and figures of future things running through the works of God, and we see the same plan prevailing through the word of God. If it is a chosen way that He speaks to us through nature, it is no less His way of unfolding to us the truths of revelation. It is a voice that we can understand. We shall be wise to heed its admonitions. It speaks to us of change—but it is a change full of meaning. It tells us of progress—but it is progress onwards, upwards. It comes to cheer the unsatisfied spirit in its cravings after the hidden and invisible things, in its longings after immortality. It is nature gathering up her experience of the Past, and waiting in calm assurance for the development of the Future. It is Earth, pointing with the finger of Faith to Heaven.

* Anatomists tell us frequently of the suppression of certain parts or organs in animals, which would be useless to the animal in that condition of life in which it is to be placed, but which are more fully developed in other animals, who, by their nature, are designed to use them. For instance, serpents are not provided with legs, because in the flexibility which the peculiar articulations of the vertebral column gives them, they have the means of locomotion; but in some species, the germs or rudiments of this organ can be found. Their development is *arrested*, for the organ will not be needed—the animal is otherwise provided with means of locomotion.

In the young state the frog is an aquatic animal, and breathes through gills like a fish. As he grows older, the gills are gradually suppressed, and lungs begin to appear. When the change is complete, the frog becomes an air-breathing animal, and the gills are only rudimentary. If we are permitted to use these analogies which nature offers, may we not see in the fall of man something to remind us of what takes place in the world of nature? an image or type of this suppression of organs? Holiness is not the condition under which man is to pass through this state. He is endowed with the germ or rudiment of this quality, but this germ or rudiment is *arrested*, for man is to be a probationary being. But this quality, which is only found in man in this imperfect state, is probably a quality which a superior order of beings possess, or one which man himself may possess in a more advanced and perfect state.

ART. VI.—EVERETT'S ORATIONS AND SPEECHES.

Orations and Speeches on various occasions. By EDWARD EVERETT. In two volumes. Second edition. Boston, Little & Brown. 1850.

As Mr. Everett needed no accession to his reputation, this re-production of his brilliant life on the rostrum may be considered as a gratuitous present to the public. It will be thankfully welcomed, not only as in itself a choice contribution to American literature, but as something like an historical monument of the progress of our national culture. The author's life has been coeval with a peculiarly vigorous and critical stage of American development, whose tendency to absorption in gross, material interests or coarse political excitements, he has successfully resisted, while he has aided, as much as any man living, to impart to it a refined and intellectual direction. Gifted with extraordinary powers of mind, which almost from childhood produced upon his native community a kind of mysterious impression, he has incessantly sought to "magnify his office," by communicating a healthy and generous impulse to the spheres within his reach. His large and active ambition, disdaining everything eccentric or illegitimate, has invariably been baptised in a pure and wholesome element, and confined itself within the limits of immediate usefulness. Pandering to no low or transient tastes, he seems always instinctively to have proceeded on the conviction, that the public mind could be moulded and guided by influences adapted to its better nature; and the result has shown how well founded was his conviction. If the pursuit of literature is cherished with any fondness in these United States—if the name of scholar is honourable among us—no person, probably, can lay claim to so large an agency in producing the happy effect, as Edward Everett. It is a curious and gratifying circumstance in his very imposing career, that in three widely separated regions—on our Atlantic coast—by our western waters—and in the mother country—processions and festivals have been formed to do him personal honour—not for his political influence, or leadership in any movement of exciting reform, but purely from the milder fame of his admirable and well-directed scholarship. We know of no similar contemporaneous example, nor, in

fact, anything like it since the early and enthusiastic days of modern literature.

As apposite to these observations, we subjoin an extract from the little work of a tourist, published at New-York, in 1838. The authoress is describing a Commencement occasion at Harvard College in 1836, at which Mr. Everett was present, in his official capacity, as Governor of Massachusetts.

"It was seventeen years," she observes, "since I had previously attended this celebration; my thoughts chiefly rested on the audience, and were drawn away from the speakers by the throng of memories that clustered so richly over the scene. There were many changes. The old Puritan meeting-house was gone, and had given place to one of elegant and classical structure.

* * * * *

"After musing awhile on these things, until the voices of the speakers sounded, dream-like, amid the deeper voices of the past, my attention was riveted by one conspicuous individual. I had seen that subdued glance years ago, at his first college exhibition; it was the same—the same slow raising of the clear blue eye, the same deferential bow at honours conferred. The cheek of the man was pale, on the boy's was a crimson spot, where genius seemed feeding; time had laid his hand on the head of the man, the boy's fair hair was glossy and full; the limbs of the man, though not large, were firm, the boy was slender, so slender that it was feared mind would master him, and that he would be one of those plants that die early. Why God so often takes the prematurely ripe, we know not; but we know that the responsibilities of such moral agents, when he permits them to remain, are fearfully great. The eye of heaven must look searchingly down on the individuals it has gifted so unsparingly.

"At the Commencement of 1811, he again appeared, still a boy, bearing off the honours of a man. There was another lapse of time, and he stood before the Phi Beta Kappa Society as a poet; and the lips of the fair opened in praise, and friends gathered and fluttered like butterflies around the opened flower, and old men shook their heads in pleasant surprise, or gazed upon his modest brow, and bade him God speed. A few years passed, and he stood to be ordained in the holy character of a Gospel Minister. I shall never forget that day. As his fathers in the ministry laid their hands on his head, he looked too slight for so tremendous a charge; but when, at the close of the service, he pronounced a blessing on the audience, there was a tremulous depth in his voice which spoke of ardent communings with duty.

"Another period elapsed, and he visited Europe, to glean from

its fields pleasure and improvement. In the Chapel of Harvard College, on his return, I heard his first discourse. It was a brilliant summary of interesting things. Since then he has walked the halls of statesmen; his various orations have risen like a line of beautiful hills on the literary horizon, and he has been crowned with civil honours.”*

A very mistaken and superfluous regret is sometimes expressed by Mr. Everett's admirers, that he has not devoted his powers to some grand, continuous work, but has employed them on such fragmentary productions as compose the two volumes before us. We think there is in this regret more sentimentality than good sense. If some creating spirit chooses to give us for our refreshment a whole grove of noble palms, we will not quarrel with him for refraining to bestow in their room a solitary gigantic oak. If an architect overspreads the land with beautiful and commodious churches, to which many neighbourhoods resort for edification and delight, we will not ask him, why have you spent your life upon these, rather than upon a single towering cathedral? The truth is, an almost epic unity and interest pervade these volumes, notwithstanding the piecemeal nature of their ingredients. They tell an eventful story, as they proclaim the life-like movement of the country in its varied historical, political, material, intellectual, moral and spiritual relations. Even had Mr. Everett reserved his powers for one huge work, we presume he must have divided and subdivided it into chapters and sections. Now here is a huge book, divided not indeed into chapters, but into profound and brilliant orations and addresses, which grew so, as it were, by nature, and were not artificially cut and carved out by the bookmaker's hand. When high merit is presented to us in one form, why should we complain of that form, and wonder that it comes in no other? Must Shakspeare be arraigned for working up his plots into five dramatic acts, instead of expanding them into the twelve books of a *Paradise Lost*? or shall Horace be disparaged, for not assuming the exact individuality of Maro? Mr. Everett has met the demand of his generation, by assisting to shape and direct its mighty but vague aspirings. If he has not written a treatise in three volumes, let him console himself with the thought that he has been doing

* Poetry of Travelling in the United States, by Caroline Gilman

something better—he has not thrown his life away—he has aided to stamp an age! We give all honour to the meritorious producers of three, six, or nine connected volumes. But we suspect several of these fortunate writers will be among the first candidly to confess that Mr. Everett did something to stir the atmosphere, which breathed or summoned their fine creations into life. Such boast he may make with Coleridge, but not, like Coleridge, lament his abused and misdirected powers. There are some judicious observations on a subject allied to this, in Lord Jeffrey's article on the *Memoirs of Sir James Mackintosh*. They were, perhaps, intended as an indirect justification of the critic's own literary career, as well as that of the writer reviewed; and Mr. Everett himself is entitled to apply them to the multifariously detailed labors of his past literary life. Speaking of Sir James's deferring the execution of his larger projects, in order to enlighten the public mind through the pages of reviews and other journals, Lord Jeffrey says:

“For our own parts, we have long been of opinion, that a man of powerful understanding and popular talents, who should devote himself to the task of announcing principles of vital importance to society, and render the discussion of them familiar, by the medium of popular journals, would probably do more to direct and accelerate the rectification of public opinion upon all practical questions, than by any other use he could possibly make of his faculties. His name, indeed, might not go down to posterity in connection with any work of celebrity, and the greater part even of his contemporaries might be ignorant of the very existence of their benefactor. But the benefits conferred would not be the less real; nor the conferring of them less delightful; nor the gratitude of the judicious less ardent and sincere.”

But even as a substantive literary treasure, we regard these volumes as equally honourable to the American press with other more consolidated productions. Why should not a collection of orations possess as positive and absolute a value as a history or a treatise? Could classical literature, for instance, endure the extinction of the speeches of Demosthenes and Cicero, any more than of the writings of Thucydides and Seneca? Proud as we are of the histories of Sparks, Prescott and Bancroft, yet we cannot admit that, as a whole, the addresses of Mr. Everett are at all less creditable to the country, or less bene-

ficial in their tendency. They were composed and delivered under circumstances eminently adapted to stimulate the utmost efforts of the intellect. At the celebrations and *dies fasti*, which called them forth, their author was not invited as a mere portion of the pageant, or to play an assigned part to secure the ceremonial from failure. The whole surrounding community looked to him for an instructive expression of the very spirit of the occasion, as well as of their own cherished and unspoken interest and sentiments in regard to it. The range of time embracing the production and delivery of these addresses, may well be regarded as a brilliant epoch in the history of New-England. The announcement, that Mr. Everett was to be the speaker for the day, awakened unusual anticipations far and near. The audiences, crowded to overflowing, were in a large measure composed of the most distinguished men in the country of every profession, with all that was attractive and accomplished, in the best degree, in the other sex. No tinsel oratory—no common-place declamation, could send audiences like these to their homes in a mood of perfect gratification. Nor were the charms of delivery—the severe simplicity, yet graceful elegance of manner—the voice, that could glide at will between trumpet-tone and an almost feminine pathos—the eye, that could at once command multitudes with its fiery gaze, and yet seem to search the thoughts of every individual*—and, especially, the exhibition of a glowing enthusiasm, ever ready to break forth, but ever repressed and chastened by the reins of a firm self-control—at all adequate, of themselves, to satisfying the demands of the particular audiences whom the occasions in question assembled together. There must be discussion and speculation—the philosophy of the subject in hand must be probed to its depths—there must be novelty in the facts and reflections presented, but without antics or extravagances of thought—there must be sympathetic, but reasonable appeals to that consciousness of a high

* The portrait of Mr. E. prefixed to these volumes, presents, in many respects, a happy resemblance. But every distinguished orator ought to be consigned to some effigies *in action*. The birds of Audubon—the sculpture of Chatham, belonging to the city of Charleston, and the Belvidere Apollo, suggest the immense difference in art, between still and active life. How would the admirers of Mr. Everett prize a likeness of him, taken in the act of lifting a crowded audience in Faneuil Hall from their feet!

future destiny, which is the favourite sentiment of American bosoms. With all these requisites Mr. Everett came well prepared, from the stores of his immense cultivation, and the workings of his fervid genius, to represent the teeming thoughts of the day. Called upon an hundred times for the performance of these arduous tasks, it is said that he has never failed to gratify the public expectation. In the facility with which he has ever consented to appear before his fellow-citizens, he has shown equal kindness and intrepidity, for it is long since he could expect to increase his reputation, or incur no risk of possibly diminishing it. Such are some of the circumstances which may enable us, in part, to form a due estimate of the volumes we are examining.

They, whose good fortune it is to have been present on most, or many of these occasions, enjoy a rare advantage in perusing the present publication. The excitement of recollection here surpasses in its effects the excitement of novelty. Very many of the addresses are associated with the idea of gala-day triumphs—of delightful anticipations previously cherished—of refined and densely crowded assemblages—of the electric sympathies inspired by such scenes—of the pride and admiration felt for the orator by whole communities—of the curiosity experienced by those who were strangers to his person—of the intense and never-wearied attention which listened to the last, and would have been glad of more; and then, of the separation, often to distant homes, with the memory of what had been heard prolonging the pleasure, and renewing it afterwards for many days, as an era or privilege in life. For our own part, stationed here at the remote South, we necessarily enjoyed but few opportunities of personally listening to these performances. But most of them we perused at their first publication, and now, as we read them again in their collective form, we seem to be renewing a pleasure, as it were, but of yesterday, so deep was the influence which many years ago they exerted upon our minds.

Nor must it be understood that our orator affected to produce impressions only on refined and brilliant assemblages. Many of his happiest essays were prepared for the labouring classes of society. His addresses to these classes, combined with Dr. Channing's Lecture on Self-culture, were as opportune as they were elaborate, and

probably did as much, in proportion, to satisfy and elevate the toiling, yet questioning masses of the community around, as was effected with more "observation" in a larger field by the religious zeal of Whitfield and Wesley. We cannot imagine how the Socialist question can be more convincingly met, than in Mr. Everett's Lecture on the Workingmen's Party.

In preparing these publications anew for the press, we perceive that the author has very diligently and conscientiously employed the critical pruning-knife. Seldom have we known such unrelenting judgments passed by a writer of mature life upon the style of his earlier years. Some of the compositions, in fact, may be said to be in a degree re-written. It must have been entirely a matter of personal interest with himself, for we presume the public would not have demanded the numerous emendations in question, and we have never known his writings characterised as loose or incorrect. We understand that some critic in a New-Orleans paper, in a notice of the present publication, stigmatises this dressing up anew of one's printed lucubrations as an unwarrantable liberty. The censure seems to us unfounded. Surely the purchasers of previous editions have no right to complain, for they have enjoyed a fair *quid pro quo* in the best which the author had to give them at the earlier period. Nor is the existing public in any manner abused, for Mr. E. ingenuously announces that the productions of his youth required some amendment, which he has here endeavoured to bestow upon them. The only parties we can imagine as likely to be aggrieved, are the booksellers, who may possibly retain copies of the uncorrected addresses on their shelves. But we much doubt whether copies enough remain to inflict severe injury in this quarter, at least beyond what can be more than repaid by a supply of the same article in a fresh and improved condition. With regard to the general question, as a point of mere literary ethics, we believe that the practice adverted to can be defended by various considerations. Certainly a writer may be supposed anxious to transmit his productions to posterity in a state as near perfection as possible. The inquiry of the future reader will be, not at what age in life they were composed, but by whom they were composed, and if they were finally published or not with the author's sanction. A writer of high and generous aims

will naturally wish his works to produce the most beneficial impression, whether his name be connected with them or not. If the name accompany them, he must wish it associated with as much literary excellence as he can personally and fairly confer. The world has never yet, that we have learned, complained of "new and improved editions." The practice of the brightest and most revered authors of ancient and modern times can be alleged, if it were necessary, in defence of the instance before us. And as to German authors, their little fingers are thicker, in this respect, than Mr. Everett's loins. Nothing is more common with them, than to re-write successive editions of the same work, until at length it would be hard to recognize an identity between the former and latter issues. We remember to have once translated a rather bulky treatise of Eichhorn on the Pentateuch, and being, a few years after, solicited to furnish it for a well-known periodical, it was found that subsequent editions had so far changed the individuality of the original work, as to require, not a revision, but an absolutely new translation.

It may be interesting to our readers to compare a paragraph or two, in which Mr. Everett has called up to his side his earlier self, to inspect and correct the young gentleman's exercises. Perhaps they will think, with ourselves, that in some, though not in all instances, the pupil's phraseology may be preferred to his preceptor's. We will take the first example from the opening page :

EDITION OF 1824.

"*Mr. President and Gentlemen* :—In discharging the honourable trust of being the public organ of your sentiments on this occasion, I have been anxious that the hour, which we here pass together, should be occupied by those reflections exclusively, which belong to us as scholars. Our association in this fraternity is academical; we engaged in it before our alma mater dismissed us from her venerable roof, to wander in the various paths of life; and we have now come together in the academical holidays, from every variety of pursuit, from almost every part of our country, to meet on common ground, as the brethren of one literary household. The professional cares of life, like the conflicting tribes of Greece, have proclaimed to us a short armistice, that we may come up in peace to our Olympia.

"But from the wide field of literary speculation, and the innumerable subjects of meditation which arise in it, a selection must be

made. And it has seemed to me proper that we should direct our thoughts, not merely to a subject of interest to scholars, but to one which may recommend itself as peculiarly appropriate to us. If 'that old man eloquent, whom the dishonest victory at Cheronæa killed with report,' could devote fifteen years to the composition of his Panegyric on Athens, I shall need no excuse to a society of American scholars, in choosing for the theme of an address on an occasion like this, *the peculiar motives to intellectual exertion in America*. In this subject that curiosity, which every scholar feels in tracing and comparing the springs of mental activity, is heightened and dignified, by the important connexion of the inquiry with the condition and prospects of our native land."

EDITION OF 1850.

"*Mr. President and Gentlemen* :—In discharging the honourable trust which you have assigned to me on this occasion, I am anxious that the hour which we pass together should be exclusively occupied with those reflections which belong to us as scholars. Our association in this fraternity is academical; we entered it before our *alma mater* dismissed us from her venerable roof; and we have now come together, in the holidays, from every variety of pursuit, and every part of the country, to meet on common ground, as the brethren of one literary household. The duties and cares of life, like the Grecian States, in time of war, have proclaimed to us a short armistice, that we may come up, in peace, to our Olympia.

"On this occasion, it has seemed proper to me that we should turn our thoughts, not merely to some topic of literary interest, but to one which concerns us as American scholars. I have accordingly selected, as the subject of our inquiry, *the circumstances favourable to the progress of literature in the United States of America*. In the discussion of this subject, that curiosity, which every scholar naturally feels, in tracing and comparing the character of the higher civilization of different countries, is at once dignified and rendered practical by the connection of the inquiry with the condition and prospects of his native land."

The next specimen is from a subsequent oration :

EDITION OF 1825.

"*Fellow-Citizens* :—The voice of patriotic and filial duty has called us together, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of an ever memorable day. The subject which this occasion presents to our consideration, almost exceeds the grasp of the human mind. The appearance of a new state in the great family of nations is one of the most important topics of reflection that can ever be addressed to us. In the case of America, the interest, the magnitude, and the difficulty of this subject are immeasurably increased. Our pro-

gress has been so rapid, the interval has been so short between the first plantations in the wilderness and the full development of our political institutions ; there has been such a visible agency of single characters in affecting the condition of the country, such an almost instantaneous expansion of single events into consequences of incalculable importance, that we find ourselves deserted by almost all the principles and precedents, drawn from the analogy of other States. Men have here seen, felt, and acted themselves, what in most other countries has been the growth of centuries.

"Take your station, for instance, on Connecticut river. Every thing about you, whatsoever you behold or approach, bears witness, that you are a citizen of a powerful and prosperous state. It is just seventy years, since the towns, which you now contemplate with admiration as the abodes of a numerous, increasing, refined, enterprising population, safe in the enjoyment of life's best blessings, were wasted and burned by the savages of the wilderness ; and their inhabitants by hundreds,—the old and the young, the minister of the gospel, and the mother with her new born babe,—were awakened at midnight by the war-whoop, dragged from their beds, and marched with bleeding feet across the snow clad mountains,—to be sold as slaves into the corn-fields and kitchens of the French in Canada. Go back eighty years farther ; and the same barbarous foe is on the skirts of your oldest settlements, at your own doors. As late as 1676, ten or twelve citizens of Concord were slain or carried into captivity, who had gone to meet the savage hordes in their attack on Sudbury, in which the brave Captain Wadsworth and his companions fell."

EDITION OF 1850.

"*Fellow-Citizens* :—The subject which the present occasion presents to our consideration, is of the highest interest. The appearance of a new state in the great family of nations, is one of the most important topics of reflection that can ever be addressed to us. In the case of America, the magnitude and the difficulty of the subject are greatly increased by peculiar circumstances. Our progress has been so rapid ; the interval has been so short between the first plantations in the wilderness and the full development of our political system ; there has been such a visible agency of single characters in affecting the condition of the country ; such an almost instantaneous expansion of single events into consequences of incalculable importance, that we find ourselves deserted by the principles and precedents drawn from the analogy of other States. Men have here seen, felt and acted themselves, what in most other countries has been the growth of centuries.

"Take your station, for instance, on Connecticut River. Every thing about you, whatever you behold or approach, bears witness that you belong to a powerful and prosperous State. But it is only

seventy years since the towns which you now contemplate with admiration, as the abodes of a numerous, refined, enterprising population, safe in the enjoyment of life's best blessings, were wasted and burned by the savages of the wilderness; and their inhabitants, in large numbers,—the old and the young, the minister of the gospel, and the mother with her new-born babe,—were awakened at midnight by the war-whoop, dragged from their beds, and marched with bleeding feet across the snow-clad mountains, to be sold, as slaves, to the French in Canada. Go back eighty years farther, and the same barbarous foe is on the skirts of your oldest settlements,—at your own doors. As late as 1676, ten or twelve citizens of Concord were slain or carried into captivity, who had gone to meet the Indians in their attack on Sudbury, in which the brave Captain Wadsworth and his companions fell.”

Whatever corrections our author might see fit to apply to his writings, he is at least to be congratulated for having avoided the affectations into which some of his contemporaries were betrayed. He confesses and laments having made Johnson and Burke his models in composition; yet rarely, if ever, is their faulty manner conspicuous in his productions. On the other hand, he may owe to his study and admiration of those great masters, his unsurpassed flow of pure and nearly perfect English diction. Although he had lived several of his most imitative years in Germany, and had perused with youthful fervour the popular authors of that country, yet we find in his style no trace of German influence. He was just as much tempted as was Mr. Emerson, and perhaps, by reason of his mode of education, more so, to dress up a feeble or common-place thought with oracular obscurity or fantastic outlandishness; but he disdained the unworthy foppery, and renounced in advance the feverish and unnatural popularity which, in some quarters, such arts are apt to gain. In his most ambitious flights, he is never transcendental; in his most pointed sentences never otherwise than purely idiomatic. We doubt whether he ever calls Washington, in the affected ethical slang of twenty years ago, “*a true man*,” and are pretty confident that he does not talk of the “*mission*” of America among the nations. Steeped as he has been all his life in every variety of foreign literatures, the indigenous redolence of his style is remarkable. The only paragraph in these volumes, so far as we remember, of which the savour is not as essentially English as that of Mr. Clay

himself, is the following, which reminds us, though not offensively, of the piquant vivacity of Voltaire, or some other French philosopher, applied to a grave and profound subject.

“The first king was a fortunate soldier, and the first nobleman was one of his generals; and government has passed by descent to their posterity, with no other interruption than has taken place when some new soldier of fortune has broken in upon this line of succession, in favour of himself and of his generals. The people have passed for nothing in the plan; and whenever it has occurred to a busy genius to put the question, By what right is government thus exercised and transmitted? The common answer, as we have seen, has been, By divine right; while, as the great improvement on this doctrine, men have been consoled with the assurance, that such was the original contract.”

It is common to hear Mr. Everett characterized, in an exclusive way, as “a magnificent declaimer.” In the better sense of the word the appellation is correct, although it conveys but a very partial account of his oratory. *Declamation* is one of those terms, to which disparaging ideas have been attached, in consequence of the spurious and inadequate attempts that are every day made to exhibit the excellent reality. Genuine declamation has in all ages been among the highest efforts of human art. It is an appeal to the nobler passions and sentiments of an audience, when reason is supposed to have accomplished its office. It invests familiar or forgotten truths with their due grandeur and importance, and enkindles an interest in them, which is otherwise too apt to languish. There is room for the display of infinite skill and power, in the topics, the phrases, the methods, which a speaker employs for these purposes. Declamation is the poetry of eloquence. The declamatory passages of the ancient orators are impressed on the memory of every reader of the classics. The Old and New Testaments also abound in the happiest instances. The volumes before us present several admirable specimens. But we are surprised to observe, in a continuous perusal of the whole, how very rare, comparatively, is the declamatory element, we mean, of course, only in its higher sense, the inferior sort never having, that we know, been charged upon the author. Mr. Webster himself, even in his deliberative speeches, to say nothing of his efforts on the

rostrum, is more of a declaimer than Mr. Everett. The predominant, nay, almost the entire character of the volumes before us, is didactic. The author enters, as we have already intimated, into the philosophy of every subject; and, besides, if his theme be an historical event, he brings forward a new store of illustrative facts and incidents, unknown to the current generation, whom he thus renders as familiar with it, as if they themselves had been among its busiest actors. Then, when he indulges in declamation, his fervid language springs as naturally from these speculations and verities, as the gorgeous clouds round the setting sun proceed from its own illumining rays.

The versatility and scope of the author's mind may be conceived from the immense variety and importance of the topics which he has been called upon to discuss for the benefit of his fellow-citizens. It seems as if they had supposed he must know and could talk about every thing that is experienced beneath the circuit of the sun. For instance, he investigates, at Harvard College, in an original vein, the circumstances favourable to the progress of American literature—traces, at Plymouth, the vast consequences that flowed from the first settlement of New-England—describes, at Concord, with the graphic pencil of a contemporary, the earlier battles of the revolution—elucidates, at Cambridge, the distinctive principles of the American constitutions—institutes, in Faneuil Hall, by a happy stroke of genius, a parallel between the lives and characters of Adams and Jefferson, whose twin-death, on one and the same day, furnishes a sort of key-note, with which the eulogy harmonizes throughout—takes occasion, in one of his Fourth of July Orations, to give a general and learned history of Liberty itself—erects a literary monument, at the dedication of one in stone, to the memory of John Harvard—addresses, while on a tour in the Western States, three large assemblies in different places, with something specifically appropriate to each occasion—characterizes, at Charlestown, with the fondness of a son of Massachusetts, the primal settlement of his native State—then, with equal familiarity, discourses, before several rising institutes, on the importance of scientific knowledge to practical men, and on the encouragement to its pursuit, his style being here in beautiful keeping with his subject-matter, no more elaborate and ornate

as elsewhere, but plain, simple, *affectionate* even—lectures at Charlestown, on the Working Men's Party, among which, with adroit ingenuity, he succeeds in ranking every decent class in the community, placing, as we have heard, an effectual extinguisher on some threatening agrarian agitations of the day—expatiates again, and mostly in new trains of thought, on the advantage of knowledge to working men—exhausts, at Washington, the subject of African colonization—demonstrates, at a meeting in St. Paul's Church, Boston, the importance of assisting education in the Western States—urges on, at Faneuil Hall, in what we regard as the most Demosthenéan of his speeches, the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument—compresses, into a lecture at Salem, the whole merits of the great Temperance question—unfolds, in an oration at Worcester, the intimate connection between the seven years' war and the war of our Independence—discusses, at Yale College, in what is perhaps, in point of style, the most finished performance of the collection, the education of mankind—discriminates, before the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, the peculiar advantages of the American farmer—pronounces, at the request of the young men of Boston, a very elaborate eulogy on the life and character of La Fayette, evincing here a felicitous talent for narrative—talks over, in Lexington, like an actor in the scene, the revolutionary fight at that place, introducing some curious and apposite memorials of John Hancock and other worthies of the time—singles out, for his theme at Beverly, the youth of Washington, which he demonstrates to have been a remarkably providential preparation for that hero's subsequent career—argues, at Amherst College, in a fine vein of philosophy and with large inductions from the history of science, the favourable influence of education on liberty, knowledge and morals—exhibits, at South Deerfield, in commemoration of the battle of Bloody Brook, the same familiarity with the Indian wars, that he has elsewhere shown with the battles of the revolution, and ingeniously defends the Indian policy of the pilgrim fathers—sketches, before the Boston Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the boyhood and youth of Franklin, and here indulges, contrary to his wont, in a sportive, conversational strain of wit and humour—maintains, on the Fourth of July at Lowell, that the prohibition of colonial manufactures by the mother-country, was one of

the chief grievances that resulted in the American revolution—defends, before the American Institute of the city of New-York, the principle of protection to manufactures, which he shows to have been a favourite policy in all periods of our country's history—comes, in Faneuil Hall, to the rescue of the languishing subscription for the long Western Rail-Road, in a somewhat dashing speech, which shows, however, a very minute and extensive knowledge of the subject—elucidates, at Springfield, the influence of the religion of the pilgrims on the institutions of our country—contends, in after-dinner speeches, at Boston and Charlestown, for the continuance of the militia system, holding now the office of Governor of the State, which he continues to occupy several years onward—personates, in an address at the Harvard Centennial Celebration, the venerable Winthrop proposing to the government of the infant colony a tax in behalf of the college, probably, as the orator thinks, the first ever laid for the support of public education—strikes some appropriate and happy chord, on each occasion, when toasted at an anniversary celebration in Dedham, at a cattle-show in Danvers, and at a festival of the Irish Charitable Society in Boston—eulogises, at a meeting of the Boston Prison Discipline Society, the special objects of that institution—descants, at Williams' College, in a tone of unusual elevation, on the advantages both of superior and of popular education—acknowledges, at a public scholastic examination, his indebtedness to the Boston schools, which had been the best friends of his destitute youth—speculates, before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, in a profound, but familiarly illustrative way peculiar to himself, on the vast importance of the mechanic arts—then speaks Indianee, officially, with an Indian delegation—then renders an affecting tribute to Dr. Bowditch—then another to the surviving revolutionary heroes—describes Education, in a Convention at Martha's Vineyard, as the nurse of the mind—indulges in tender, boyish reminiscences at Dr. Abbott's jubilee in Exeter—brings out, with great power and clearness, before the Boston Mercantile Library Association, various fundamental ideas on accumulation, property, capital and credit—illustrates the importance of education in a republic, at a School Convention in Taunton, where he introduces, with so much effect, the celebrated letter of Elihu Burritt—pronounces a gallant

speech at a Centennial Anniversary of the settlement of Barnstable—recommends at Barre, to the citizens of Massachusetts, with exceeding plainness and force of language, the system of Normal Schools—celebrates at Springfield, in words of jubilant gratulation, and with spirited, yet true sketches of the approaching future, the opening of the great Rail-Road, which he had before done something at Faneuil Hall to accelerate—speaks, to the Scots' Charitable Society, with more than common elegance, tenderness, point and enviable reminiscence—delivers, at the opening of the first course of Lowell Lectures in Boston, a long and interesting sketch of its founder, whose testamentary munificence was equally honourable to his native city and to his own memory—acquits himself, on fourteen different occasions, while ambassador in England, with much grace and propriety, but with more diplomatic generality of phrase, and less eloquence and impressiveness than he is accustomed to display at home—renders twice at Plymouth, after his return to his native land, fresh tributes to the memory of the pilgrims—signalizes his inauguration into the Presidency of Harvard College, by a rich, solid, and well-timed tractate on university education—presents some fine views on medical education at the opening of the new Medical College in Boston—pleads, in Faneuil Hall, in behalf of the starving Irish—solicits aid for the Colleges of Massachusetts before committees of the Legislature of that State, in two successive speeches, the latter of which appears to us the strongest and closest piece of argument in the collection—obeys the call of the same Legislature in pronouncing before them a comprehensive and adequate eulogy on John Quincy Adams—indulges in a strain of familiarity and good humour at the opening of a high school in Cambridge—dispatches, at a dinner of the American Scientific Association in the same city, some current objections against such institutions—commends, at a cattle-show in Dedham, the life of the farmer—commemorates again the nineteenth of April at Concord, exactly one quarter of a century after his graphic oration at that place, among the earliest of his celebrities, and indulges chiefly in conciliatory sentiments towards England—and, lastly, proves, before the Massachusetts Bible Society, the intimate connection, in all ages and nations, between vital

Christianity and the use of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongues.

What a life to have led ! Or rather, what fruitage falling from the topmost boughs of a tree, whose life below must have been so busy in exhausting rich soils, assimilating all finer elements, and expanding beneath the happy influences of opportunity and Providence !

We regret much that no index of subjects was prepared and affixed to the present publication. It would have contributed largely to the future convenience of many a reader, and would have conveyed a more complete idea of the author's labours than the mere general announcement, in the table of contents, of an oration pronounced here, and an address delivered there. The lack of such an index is quite imperfectly supplied by the preceding analysis *raisonnée* of the topics discussed in these volumes.

Having thus, as we trust, with sufficient readiness and fullness, attested the eminent merits of this collection, we shall now, with some diffidence, animadvert on what we are constrained to regard the defects, though few, which the perusal of it has brought to our notice. Dealing with a writer of less mark, we should probably have declined the unwelcome task ; but if there are certain popular errors and corruptions of style, which may be likely to take shelter and sanction beneath Mr. Everett's example, so much the more is it the critic's duty to point them out, and rescue our literature from the dangers that threaten it.

A profound writer, in a late number of the Edinburgh Review, closes a long article on the History of the English Language with the following impressive exhortation : "When we reflect on the enormous breadth, both of the Old World and the New, over which this noble language is either already spoken, or is fast spreading, and the immense treasures of literature which are consigned to it, it becomes us to guard it with jealous care, as a sacred deposit—not our least important trust in the heritage of humanity. *Our brethren in America must assist us in the task.*" Let the ensuing criticisms be accepted as some humble response, on our part, to this earnest and flattering challenge.

We would first notice a few phrases, of probably Ame-

rican origin, against which we have long cherished an instinctive suspicion, as trespassers on the domain of pure English, but have never, until now, found fitting occasion to search out the nucleus of our etymological difficulty in regard to them. We begin with the phrase "*in our midst*." On page 8 of vol. ii. Mr. Everett calls the grammar school which Franklin attended, "the venerable parent of the classical schools in the country, still existing *in our midst*." Let us examine this expression by the light of good old English usage, reason and analogy. We believe that its acceptation is entirely confined to our own side of the Atlantic, having never met with it in any document of British origin. It has been in use here, we think, only about twenty or thirty years, and originated, as well as we recollect, at some evangelical conference meeting—a birth-place honourable and worthy, indeed, but not sufficiently classical to command much scholastic deference. From the conference it crept into the public prayers of the pulpit, then into the sermon or formal address, then into the newspapers, especially when treating of obituary or other solemn subjects, then, but very seldom indeed, into common conversation, the popular taste instinctively repudiating it, then into a particular class of books, and at length we find it employed by one of the first writers in the land. If the phrase were not as unnecessary as it is ungainly, we might permit it to usurp a quiet place in the language. *In the midst of us*, although less compact, indeed, is, to our own sense, much more elegant, and falls with more harmonious appulse on our Anglo-Saxon ear. He who first coined the expression *in our midst* probably thought that he was conforming to the simplicity of the English Scriptures. But although the excellent and classical translators of our Bible have occasion, a score or more of times, to write *in the midst of thee*, *in the midst of us*, etc., not once do they write *in thy midst*, *in our midst*, or the like. And the nice logic of the case will be found to justify this hitherto universal practice. There must have been some good reason, in the nature of things, and in the primitive aptitudes of the language, why *in the midst of us* has been cheerfully submitted to by everybody for five hundred years, and why *in our midst* is still avoided by a vast majority of the best English writers. Now, it is true that the term "*of us*" is often equivalent to "*our*," a fact which no doubt gave rise to what we deem the

solecism in question. Yet, though *father of us* is the same as *our father*, and *name of us* is identical with *our name*, there are innumerable sentences in which *of us* and *our* cannot be reciprocally substituted for each other without destroying the particular sense intended. A man may march *far in front of us* and yet not be *in our front*, which latter implies that he is within the marching body. So, again, he may be on or at *the side of us*, but by no means exactly *on our side* or *in our flank*. Again, he may march *in the rear of us*, but, so far from being *in our rear*, that is, *our rear-ranks*, he is, strange but true to say, certainly *out of our rear*! So, as to the *right of us* and *in our right*. We contend now that an analogous contrariety obtains between the logical significations of *in our midst* and *in the midst of us*. In all these various cases, the word which precedes *of us* implies simple *locality* in relation to *us*, (as, in front of us, at the side of us, etc.) while, on the other hand, the use of *our* before the same word (as *our front*, *our side*, *our rear*, *our midst*.) immediately extinguishes the idea of external locality, and replaces it with the idea of a constituent portion of human beings, designated by the pronoun *us*. Accordingly, *in the rear of us* implies locality behind us; but *our rear* implies a particular portion of our very army or procession. By parity of usage, *the midst of us* ought to signify the region or locality which we are occupying or surrounding; but *our midst* will truly and properly signify *that person* or *those persons* who constitute the living centre of the body to which reference is made. Therefore, if Mr. Everett, in the passage quoted, intended to say that Franklin's old grammar school existed only in the exact central portion of the living population of Boston, we have no further argument with him; but if he intended, as we presume he did, to say that it exists on a spot surrounded and promiscuously frequented by that favoured community, we beg him hereafter to consider about changing the expression, and so fall back into *the midst of us*, or rather, if our convictions be right, into the midst of the whole English race.

The next questionable phrase, to our perception, is the word *reliable*, vol. ii., p. 513.* This word is not found in the first edition of Webster, and if it be in any subsequent

* "I know of no reliable foundation but sincere and fervent religious faith."

edition, we opine that it ought not to be there. It has been coined, as we believe, within twenty years, by some editor of a newspaper, who desired to characterize by it the current reports of the day. It has glided more easily into conversation than the phrase noticed above, it being a smooth, liquid word, and somewhat convenient, on account of the difficulty of finding a neat synonyme for it. We have seen it also, we think, in some of the higher reviews, not excepting even the Quarterly. Miss Martineau's recent book of travel, and other respectable documents in solid binding, admit the ambiguous stranger. But there are reasons in our minds why its introduction should be resisted, as violating the analogies and philosophy of the language and encouraging various etymological license, confusion and abuse. If an adjective must be manufactured out of *rely*, as applicable to reports, information, etc., the only correct word would be, we imagine, some such term as *rely-on-able*, or better, perhaps, *reliable on*, (like the phrase *subsidiary to*,) for this would harmonize with the passive participle form, *relied on*, in which, by the way, as corroborating our doctrine, *relied* could not possibly be employed by itself, and without the preposition *on*. The inmost significance of the word *rely* is altogether relative. It implies reliance *on* something. or it implies nothing at all. Such is its very nature, just as the nature of a dog cannot be that of a horse, and just as an angle, without two lines to form it, is no angle whatever. *Reliable*, properly, can only refer to the mind or person relying, and would imply that it or he is apt or inclined to rely. We venture to affirm that this is the case with all adjectives derived from strictly intransitive verbs, whose original action is confined to the agent, and which indispensably require a preposition to connect them with an object. Thus, *agreeable* is only applied to that quality which *agrees with* some person or thing, and not, surely, to the person or thing agreed with. Here *agree* is an intransitive verb, and it is as improper to apply *reliable* to the thing relied upon, as *agreeable* to that which the pleasing thing agrees with. There is, we allow, an innumerable class of *active-transitive* verbs, from which are formed with great facility such adjectives as lovable, bearable, readable, eatable, desirable, etc., which are intended to apply to the objects loved, borne, read, eaten, desired, etc.

The genius of the language, coupled with the inherent power of transitive verbs, inclines us to the frequent fabrication of these terms, which are every day received into use, without so much as asking the authority of the lexicographer; and probably these permitted liberties have tempted and misled the creator and employers of *reliable* to encroach upon forbidden ground. Intransitive verbs may also, though more sparingly, be coined into adjectives, but we contend that, if the verbs are strictly and exclusively intransitive, like *rely*, the adjective invariably describes the subject of the verb, and not its object, which, indeed, can only become an object by means of an intervening preposition. As all the force in the universe cannot make men *rely* a piece of intelligence, so all the force in the universe cannot render it *reliable*. Let the reader call to mind what strictly intransitive verbs he can summon up, particularly those employed with prepositions, such as *respond to, persist in, incline to, glide by, prowl around, impend over, lean against, fall upon, depend on, contribute to, recede from, pause at, shudder at, grow to, howl at, smile at, yield to, insist on, boast of, speak to, verge upon, intrude upon, result from, refrain from, think on, start from*, etc., etc., and let him imagine if, though reduced to the utmost straits for expression, he would think of changing these verbs into adjectives agreeing with the objects which are governed by the prepositions. Thus, could the solid shore in any way be *glidable*? Could any course of duty be *persistable*? If one *inclines to* music, is it he or the music that may be described as *inclinable*? If we are apt to *fall upon* the ice, are we, or is the ice *fall-able*? And so on. We cannot escape the force of this principle and these analogies, when applied to *reliable*, which we therefore feel compelled, with our present lights, when it is made to agree with the object relied on, to wish out of the language. In the mean time, we must content ourselves with synonymes of a less smooth and insinuating character, such as *indubitable, unquestionable, trust-worthy, well-attested, authentic, certain, sure*, and the like, and if these cannot satisfy us, who knows but the resources of our flexible and inexhaustible language may yet bring to light the very legitimate expression which our hearts desire?

We come now to the third candidate for examination,

in the expression "*in this connection*,"* when employed as a transition between some topic under remark and another related topic. Owing, probably, to an acquaintance with its occurrence in Mr. Everett's Speech before the Royal Agricultural Society at Derby, in England,† a recent London Quarterly Reviewer took occasion to sneer at the Americans, and plausibly too, we think, for their use of the phrase. If we remember aright, it was rather a favourite with our author, in his admirable articles contributed to the North American Review. But if we apply to it a strict analysis of thought, we are persuaded the use of it must be abandoned by accurate writers. It will probably be found to be merely a loose and illogical abbreviation of the phrase, *in connection with this subject*. For, when a writer employs the words, *in this connection*, in the way we are now criticising, he has been neither dwelling on nor intimating any connection at all. He has been only treating a subject on its own grounds. He has arrived ostensibly at no connection, nor shown any particular one to exist. So that we may fairly ask him, what do you mean by *this connection*? And further, strictly speaking, a connection or connecting link would occur exactly *between* one subject and another, and although what one is going to say may be connected with the preceding subject, yet he is not going to say it *in* the very connection itself. We have thus, we hope, brought out into clear daylight those shadowy difficulties which dimly troubled the Quarterly Reviewers and ourselves about this little phrase. While penning these very remarks, a pamphlet was brought in to us from a learned and accomplished friend, ("Memoir on Emery, read before the Academy of Sciences of the French Institute," by J. Lawrence Smith, M.D.,) and, as we turned over the leaves, we were interested in observing a paragraph that begins thus: "Yet another circumstance to be remarked, in connection with this part of the subject," etc. Such, we are persuaded, is the natural and scholar-like way of dealing with this sort of transition. Mr. Everett was probably diverted from it by some trifling association or other, to which every writer is more or less liable. Had Dr. Lawrence Smith

* "There is another point of importance, which ought not to be omitted in this connection." Vol. ii., p. 60.

† "But in this connection I was led, by the remarks which fell from the chair," etc. Ibid., p. 467.

remembered that so high an authority was accustomed to use the objectionable phrase, he might, as it has a show of compactness, have been tempted to use it too, not deeming it worth while to subject it to the neat analysis which he applies to his own chemical processes and experiments.

Another expression which attracted our notice occurs in vol. ii., p. 558, in this sentence : "On none shall I dwell further than is necessary *to acquit my duty*." Thinking that this might have arisen from a mere lapse of the author's pen, or a mistake of the printer, we should have foreborne to remark upon it, had we not afterwards found, on page 630, the analogous sentence, "There still remains *a debt of this kind to be acquitted*." The phrase, therefore, appears to be deliberately sanctioned by the author, and, fearing lest other persons, who revere his authority as deeply as we are inclined to do ourselves, may be induced to adopt it after him, we must take the pains to examine it. If we mistake not, one cannot properly be said to *acquit* an obligation, a debt, a duty. The lexicographers give the following definitions of this verb, and they must strike every one, we think, as stating its relations correctly : "To set free ; to release or discharge *from* an obligation, accusation, guilt, censure, suspicion, or whatever lies upon a person as a charge or duty—as, the jury *acquitted* the prisoner ; we *acquit* a man of evil intentions. It is followed by *of* before the object." Now our author employs not the word *of* before the object, and, instead of implying that he desires to acquit *himself* of any obligation, he seems as if intending to acquit the unconscious *duty* and *debt* of something of the kind. Though his meaning is very clear, we submit that his words do not legitimately convey it.

We observe that Mr. Everett seems quite attached to the French form of speech, in such expressions as *being arrived, we are arrived, I am come*, corresponding to *étant arrivé, etc.* We are aware that these phrases are justified by very extensive and authentic usage, and by the Gallic element which still, here and there, lingers in our tongue. But this use of the substantive verb before neuter participles, with a passive termination, is so much in conflict with the general habitudes of our syntax, that we have no doubt it will gradually retire before a more complete and symmetrical growth of the language. The very circumstance, that it attracts attention as an exceptional form, is a proof that it is felt to be not quite natural—

and, since a more purely English expression can always be substituted for it, and, in fact, even now enjoys as wide and reputable an acceptance as its rival, the time, we think, is not distant, when the more vernacular phrase must be exclusively employed. We can conceive of no advantage in retaining the foreign form, except as a memorial of the labours of our distant juvenile forefathers, in conning their French conjugations.

Another favourite habit of the author is to employ the words *doctor* and *doctors* for *physician* and *physicians*. Except in very colloquial and domestic usage, this phraseology, we believe, is nearly extinct. As doctors of every name have now become so profusely multiplied, the term seems too general, as a means of formally specifying our excellent friends of the profession.

These verbal discussions, though perhaps approaching the abstruse, require no apology, for all allow that the highest and dearest interests of humanity may depend upon the correct and logical use of the terms we employ. The establishment of right grammatical rules is but the establishment of channels of clear and accurate thought, and sustains a nearer relation to everlasting principles than is ordinarily imagined. Many a valuable bequest has been successfully contested, through some loop-hole of ambiguous phraseology, and the destinies of the Christian church have more than once hung on the definition of a term. The most interesting to man, of all the appellations applied to the Deity himself, is that of THE WORD.

To go, however, from the criticism of words to that of things, though such transition crosses no very wide gulf.

We perceive (vol. i., p. 319) that continued currency is allowed to the old story of Shakspeare's getting his livelihood by holding horses at the door of a theatre. We had thought that this anecdote had been exploded by the researches of modern editors; but so fluctuating often are these questions of literary history, that it is possible our author may have found some good reason still to regard the account as canonical.

While in this criticising mood, we may observe that a few more explanatory notes would have rendered the edition more valuable. A brief description, for instance, of the particular occasion on which the oration at Lexington was delivered, would have elucidated a number of its allusions for many readers, who are now comparatively in the dark about them. Some method, also, might have

been devised, consistent with the author's known modesty, to intimate at times the different official relations borne by him. The full point of several addresses is lost, for the want of such information. For the same reason, it should have been mentioned that the Fourth of July celebration, at Fanueil Hall, in 1838, was conducted for the first time on principles of total abstinence.

Generally, Mr. Everett well exhausts the subjects of his discussions. In his masterly address before the Mercantile Library Association, on accumulation, property, capital and credit, while defending the claims of capital, we thought that he omitted one important principle in laying down what he considers "the whole doctrine of interest." He says nothing of the *risk* attendant on loaning out money and other capital, and which must evidently enter, as a considerable element, into the theory of interest. A percentage, representing such risk, being easily calculated in ordinary times, may most fairly be charged for the use of the principal, on all who share its advantages and who occasion the risk, even though the capitalist be regarded as nothing more than a steward, acting for the public benefit.

We expected the pleasure of re-perusing here the author's speech before the Horticultural Society, pronounced immediately on his return from his embassy to England. Both the occasion and the remarks appeared to us much more interesting than those appertaining to several addresses actually introduced. Some explanation, at least, of the circumstance would seem to be required, as there is so indiscriminate an admission of other matter.

We have already acquitted Mr. E. of a tendency to German transcendentalisms, or other over-refined speculations. If any portion of his two volumes must enforce a reluctant exception to this acquittal, it will, perhaps, be found in the following somewhat mystical sentence, which came upon us with rather a startling effect: "It may be," says he, "that the laws of the material universe, gravitation itself, may be resolved into the intelligent action of the minds by which it is inhabited and controlled, empowered to this high function by the Supreme Intellect." Vol. ii., p. 220. This dictum of philosophy is quite beyond our grasp. According to all common experience, the further matter recedes from any connection with life and thought, the more subjected it becomes to the power of gravitation. Still, we should feel ourselves groping less dimly after the

meaning of this proposition than after that of Mr. Emerson's on the same subject-matter, who looked for the time when the world would see "the identity of the law of gravitation with *purity of heart!*" It is difficult enough, to be sure, to identify, along with Mr. Everett, the eternally fixed, uniform and mechanical operations of gravitating matter with the boundless impulses, the 'absolute, spontaneous freedom of the mind; but, to go further, and identify the same operations with the moral emotions and unspeakable breathings of the responsible spirit, is, to us, much like smelling the essence of a contradiction, or laying hold of sound, as it escapes fluttering from the string.

We have cheerfully accorded to Mr. E. the praise of an unvaryingly pure taste and chastened imagination. But there are one or two passages which we hesitate to include in our comprehensive encomium. One, in particular, occurring near the commencement of the address on the battle of Bloody Brook, strikes us as somewhat overstrained, puerile and attitudinizing. The whole introduction to the address seems to exaggerate the importance of the occasion. Perhaps the fault lies in ourselves, and that which is distasteful to us may reveal legitimate beauties to others. As we intend, in the sequel, to extract a number of favourite passages, the objects of our fervent and unqualified admiration, it may but vindicate our impartiality, and subserve what we deem the cause of good taste, to present the above-mentioned paragraph to the decision of our readers. Had we been consulted in the preparation of this edition, we might have too rashly invoked the action of the author's "pruning-knife" on the following luxuriant branch:—

"As I stand on this hallowed spot, my mind filled with the traditions of that disastrous day, surrounded by these natural memorials, impressed with the touching ceremonies we have just witnessed, the affecting incidents of the bloody scene crowd upon my imagination." * * * * * "I look—I listen. All is still,—solemnly,—frightfully still. No voice of human activity or enjoyment breaks the dreary silence of nature, or mingles with the dirge of the woods and water-courses. All seems peaceful and still; and yet there is a strange heaviness in the fall of the leaves in that wood which skirts the road; there is an unnatural fitting in those shadows; there is a plashing sound in the waters of that brook, which makes the flesh creep with horror. Hark! it is the click of a gun-lock from that thicket; no, it is a pebble that has dropped from the overhanging

cliff upon the rock beneath. It is, it is the gleaming blade of a scalping-knife ; no, it is a sunbeam, thrown off from that dancing ripple. It is, it is the red feather of a savage chief, peeping from behind that maple-tree ; no, it is a leaf which September has touched with her many-tinted pencil. And now a distant drum is heard ; yes, that is a sound of life—conscious, proud life. A single life breaks upon the ear—a stirring strain. It is one of the marches to which the stern warriors of Cromwell moved over the field at Naseby and Worcester. There are no loyal ears to take offence at a Puritanical march in a trans-Atlantic forest ; and hard by, at Hadley, there is a gray-haired fugitive, who followed the cheering strain, at the head of his division in the army of the great usurper. The warlike note grows louder ; I hear the tramp of armed men. But I run before my story.”*

We have also endeavoured, in vain, to perceive a pertinence in the mode of introducing the images of Brutus and Cassius into the speech at Dr. Abbott's Jubilee. The whole passage seems to us confused, irrelevant, and aiming at something which fails of being attained.

Amplly, however, we repeat, are these few falsetto strains redeemed, throughout the rest of the addresses. Generally speaking, never was a series of popular harangues cast in a finer mould of good sense, correct taste, sound reasoning, wholesome sentiment, and unaffected diction. Everything is said in the right way and the right proportion, as if the Elysian spirit of the classics had, in these pages, once more visited the upper air ; vivacity and solidity blend with and temper each other ; the presiding, the pervading genius, seems everywhere to be wisdom ; nothing is spoken for mere effect ; nothing is far-fetched, yet nothing commonplace ; there are no ekings out of deficient trains of thought, no admissions of superfluous ones ; but all is natural—all full, calm, self-poised, onward sweeping, transparent and luminous, like a broad upland river, swollen even with its banks, on a bright vernal day.

Fain, now, in conclusion, would we present our readers with a copious series of *The Beauties of Edward Everett*. But, out of the twenty or more passages which we had marked, in the dreamy hope of extracting them at length, the most daring presumption of a privileged contributor may venture only upon a few, referring cursorily to the remainder.

The following combines two of the author's prominent

* Vol. i., p. 636.

excellencies : in the first division, the power of bringing out unconsidered truths into broad and clear relief ; in the second, a happy talent for illustrative narrative :

“ Nothing is wanting to fill up this sketch of other governments, but to consider what is the form in which force is exercised to sustain them ; and this is a standing army, at this moment the chief support of every government on earth except our own. As popular violence—the unrestrained and irresistible force of the mass of men long oppressed and late awakened, and bursting, in its wrath, all barriers of law and humanity—is unhappily the usual instrument by which the intolerable abuses of a corrupt government are removed, so the same blind force, of the same fearful multitude, systematically kept in ignorance both of their duty and of their privileges as citizens, employed in a form somewhat different, indeed, but far more dreadful—that of a mercenary standing army—is the instrument by which corrupt governments are sustained. The deplorable scenes which marked the earlier stages of the French revolution have called the attention of this age to the fearful effects of popular violence, and the minds of men have recoiled from the horrors which mark the progress of an infuriated mob. They are not easily to be exaggerated. But the power of the mob is transient ; the rising sun most commonly scatters its mistrustful ranks ; the difficulties of subsistence drives its members asunder, and it is only while it exists in mass that it is terrible. But there is a form in which the mob is indeed portentous ; when, to all its native terrors, it adds the force of a frightful permanence ; when, by a regular organization, its strength is so curiously divided, and, by a strict discipline, its parts are so easily combined, that each and every portion of it carries in its presence the strength and terror of the whole ; and when, instead of that want of concert which renders the common mob incapable of arduous enterprizes, it is despotically swayed by a single master mind, and may be moved in array across the globe.

“ I remember—if, on such a subject, I may be pardoned an illustration approaching the ludicrous—to have seen the two kinds of force brought into direct comparison. I was present at the second great meeting of the populace of London, in 1819, in the midst of a crowd of I know not how many thousands, but assuredly a vast multitude, assembled in Smithfield market. The universal distress was extreme ; it was a short time after the scenes at Manchester, at which the public mind was exasperated ; deaths by starvation were said not to be rare ; ruin, by the stagnation of business, was general ; and some were already brooding over the dark project of assassinating the ministers, which was, not long after, matured by Thistlewood and his associates, some of whom, on the day to which I allude, harangued this excited, desperate, starving assemblage.

When I considered the state of feeling prevailing in the multitude around me—when I looked in their lowering faces, heard their deep, indignant exclamations, reflected on the physical force concentrated, probably that of thirty or forty thousand able-bodied men, and, added to all this, that they were assembled to exercise what is in theory an undoubted privilege of British citizens—I supposed that any small number of troops who should attempt to interrupt them would be immolated on the spot. While I was musing on these things, and turning in my mind the commonplaces on the terrors of a mob, a trumpet was heard to sound—an uncertain, but a harsh and clamorous blast. I looked that the surrounding stalls in the market should have furnished the unarmed multitude at least with that weapon with which Virginius sacrificed his daughter to the liberty of Rome; I looked that the flying pavement should begin to darken the air. Another blast is heard—a cry of “The horse-guards” ran through the assembled thousands; the orators on the platform were struck mute; and the whole of that mighty host of starving, desperate men incontinently took to their heels, in which, I must confess—feeling no call on that occasion to be faithful found among the faithless—I did myself join them. We had run through the Old Bailey and reached Ludgate Hill before we found out that we had been put to flight by a single mischievous tool of that power, who had come triumphing down the opposite street on horseback, blowing a stage-coachman’s horn.”*

See here, how a wanton charge can be retorted, and forced to contribute to the honour of the slandered party:

“A late English writer has permitted himself to say, that the original establishment of the United States and that of the colony of Botany Bay were pretty nearly modelled on the same plan. The meaning of this slanderous insinuation is, that the United States were settled by deported convicts, in like manner as New South Wales has been settled by transported felons. It is doubtless true that, at one period, the English government was in the habit of condemning to hard labour, as servants in the colonies, a portion of those who had received the sentence of the law. If this practice makes it proper to compare America with Botany Bay, the same comparison might be made of England herself, before the practice of transportation began, and even now, inasmuch as a considerable number of convicts are at all times retained at home. In one sense, indeed, we might doubt whether the allegation were more of a reproach or a compliment. During the time that the colonization of America was going on the most rapidly, some of the best citizens of England, if it be any part of good citizenship to resist oppression, were immured in her prisons of state, or lying at the mercy of the law.

"Such were some of the convicts by whom America was settled—men convicted of fearing God more than they feared man; of sacrificing property, ease, and all the comforts of life to a sense of duty and the dictates of conscience; men convicted of pure lives, brave hearts, and simple manners. The enterprize was led by Raleigh, the chivalrous convict, who unfortunately believed that his royal master had the heart of a man, and would not let a sentence of death, which had slumbered for sixteen years, revive and take effect after so long an interval of employment and favour. But *nullum tempus occurrit regi*. The felons who followed next were the heroic and long-suffering church of Robinson, at Leyden, Carver, Brewster, Bradford, Winslow, and their pious associates, convicted of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and of giving up all—country, property, and the tombs of their fathers—that they might do it unmolested. Not content with having driven the Puritans from her soil, England next enacted or put in force the oppressive laws which colonized Maryland with Catholics and Pennsylvania with Quakers. Nor was it long before the American plantations were recruited by the Germans, convicted of inhabiting the Palatinate, when the merciless armies of Louis XIV. were turned into that devoted region; and by the Huguenots, convicted of holding what they deemed the simple truth of Christianity, when it pleased the mistress of Louis XIV. to be very zealous for the Catholic faith. These were followed, in the next century, by the Highlanders, convicted of the enormous crime, under a monarchical government, of loyalty to their hereditary prince, on the plains of Culloden; and the Irish, convicted of supporting the rights of their country against what they deemed a foreign usurper. Such are the convicts by whom America was settled.

"In this way, a fair representation of whatsoever was most valuable in European character—the resolute industry of one nation, the inventive skill and curious arts of another, the courage, conscience, principle, self-denial of all—was winnowed out, by the policy of the prevailing governments, as a precious seed, wherewith to plant the American soil."*

Next follows a remarkable passage, conceived and executed, unconsciously of course, in the best manner of Macaulay:

"If we would, on a broad, rational ground, come to a favourable judgment, on the whole, of the merit of our forefathers, the founders of New-England, we have only to compare what they effected with what was effected by their countrymen and brethren in Great Britain. While the fathers of New-England, a small band of individuals, for the most part of little account to the great world of London, were engaged, on this side of the Atlantic, in laying the

* Vol. i, p. 159.

foundations of civil and religious liberty, in a new commonwealth, the patriots of England undertook the same work of reform in that country. There were difficulties, no doubt, peculiar to the enterprise, as undertaken in each country. In Britain, there was the strenuous opposition of the friends of the established system; in New-England, there was the difficulty of creating a new State, out of materials the most scanty and inadequate. If there were fewer obstacles here, there were greater means there. They had all the refinements of the age, which the Puritans are charged with having left behind them; all the resources of the country, while the Puritans had nothing but their own slender means; and, at length, all the resources of the government—and with them they overthrew the church, trampled the House of Lords under foot, and brought the king to the block. The fathers of New-England, from first to last, struggled against almost every conceivable discouragement. While the patriots at home were dictating concessions to the king, and tearing his confidential friends from his arms, the patriots of America could scarcely keep their charter out of his grasp. While the former were wielding a resolute majority in Parliament, under the lead of the boldest spirits that ever lived, combining with Scotland, subduing Ireland, and striking terror into the continental governments, the latter were forming a frail union of the New-England colonies, for immediate defence against a savage foe. While the “Lord General Cromwell,” (who seems to have picked up this modest title among the spoils of the routed aristocracy,) in the superb flattery of Milton,

‘Guided by faith, and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth his glorious way had ploughed,
And on the neck of crowned fortune proud
Had reared God’s trophies,’

our truly excellent and incorruptible Winthrop was compelled to descend from the chair of state and submit to an impeachment.

“And what was the comparative success? There were, to say the least, as many excesses committed in England as in Massachusetts Bay. There was as much intolerance on the part of men just escaped from persecution, as much bigotry on the part of those who had themselves suffered for conscience’ sake, as much unreasonable austerity, as much sour temper, as much bad taste, as much for charity to forgive, and as much for humanity to deplore. The temper, in fact, of the two commonwealths was much the same, and some of the leading spirits played a part in both. And to what effect? On the other side of the Atlantic the whole experiment ended in a miserable failure. The commonwealth became successively oppressive, hateful, contemptible—a greater burden than the despotism on whose ruins it was raised. The people of England, after sacrifices incalculable, of property and life, after a struggle of thirty years’

duration, allowed the general who happened to have the greatest number of troops under his command to bring back the old system—king, lords and church—with as little ceremony as he would employ in issuing the orders of the day. After asking, for thirty years, What is the will of the Lord concerning his people? What is it becoming a pure church to do? What does the cause of liberty demand, in the day of its regeneration? there was but one cry in England, What does General Monk think? What will General Monk do? Will he bring back the king with conditions, or without? And General Monk concluded to bring him back without.

"On this side of the Atlantic, and in about the same period, the work which our fathers took in hand was, in the main, successfully done. They came to found a republican colony. They founded it. They came to establish a free church. They established what they called a free church, and transmitted to us what we call a free church. In accomplishing this, which they did anticipate, they brought also to pass what they did not so distinctly foresee—what could not, in the nature of things, in its detail and circumstance, be anticipated—the foundation of a great, prosperous, and growing republic. We have not been just to these men. I am disposed to do all justice to the memory of each succeeding generation. I admire the indomitable perseverance with which the contest for principle was kept up, under the second charter. I reverence, this side idolatry, the wisdom and fortitude of the revolutionary and constitutional leaders; but I believe we ought to go back beyond them all for the real framers of the commonwealth. I believe that its foundation stones, like those of the Capitol of Rome, lie deep and solid, out of sight, at the bottom of the walls—Cyclopæan work, the work of the Pilgrims—with nothing below them but the rock of ages. I will not quarrel with their rough corners or uneven sides; above all, I will not change them for the wood, hay and stubble of modern builders."*

The following peroration of the address last cited may venture comparison with some of the finest passages, embodying local associations, in ancient literature:

"Yes, on the very spot† where we are assembled—now crowned with this spacious church, surrounded by the comfortable abodes of a dense population—there were, during the first season after the landing of Winthrop, fewer dwellings for the living than graves for the dead. It seemed the will of Providence that our fathers should be tried by the extremities of either season. When the Pilgrims approached the coast of Plymouth, they found it clad with all the terrors of a northern winter.

" 'The sea around was black with storms,
And white the shores with snow.'

"We can scarcely think now, without tears, of a company of men, women and children, brought up in tenderness, exposed, after several months' uncomfortable confinement on shipboard, to the rigours of our November and December sky, on an unknown and barbarous coast, whose frightful rocks even now strike terror into the heart of the returning mariner, though he knows that the home of his childhood awaits him within their enclosure.

"The Massachusetts company arrived at the close of June. No vineyards, as now, clothed our inhospitable hill-sides; no blooming orchards, as at the present day, wore the livery of Eden, and loaded the breeze with sweet odours; no rich pastures, nor waving crops, stretched beneath the eye, along the wayside, from village to village, as if Nature had been spreading her floors with a carpet, fit to be pressed by the footsteps of her descending God! The beauty and the bloom of the year had passed. The earth, not yet subdued by culture, bore upon its untilled bosom nothing but a dismal forest, that mocked their hunger with rank and unprofitable vegetation. The sun was hot in the heavens. The soil was parched, and the hand of man had not yet taught its secret springs to flow from their fountains. The wasting disease of the heart-sick mariner was upon the men, and the women and children thought of the pleasant homes of England, as they sank down, from day to day, and died at last for want of a cup of water, in this melancholy land of promise. From the time the company sailed from England, in April, up to the December following, there died not less than two hundred persons—nearly one a day.

"They were buried, say our records, about the Town Hill. This is the Town Hill. We are gathered over the ashes of our forefathers.

"It is good, but solemn, to be here. We live on holy ground; all our hill-tops are the altars of precious sacrifice.

"*This* is stored with the sacred dust of the first victims in the cause of liberty.

"And *that** is rich from the life-stream of the noble hearts who bled to sustain it.

"Here, beneath our feet, unconscious that we commemorate their worth, repose the meek and sainted martyrs whose flesh sunk beneath the lofty temper of their noble spirits; and there rest the heroes who presented their dauntless foreheads to the God of battles, when he came to his awful baptism of blood and of fire.

"Happy the fate which has laid them so near to each other—the early and the latter champions of the one great cause! And happy we, who are permitted to reap in peace the fruits of their costly sacrifice! Happy, that we can make our pious pilgrimage to the smooth turf of that venerable summit, once ploughed with the

* Bunker Hill.

wheels of maddening artillery, ringing with all the dreadful voices of war, wrapped in smoke and streaming with blood! Happy, that here, where our fathers sank, beneath the burning sun, into the parched clay, we meet, and assemble, and mingle sweet counsel and grateful thoughts of them, in comfort and peace!"*

The following is the way in which Adam Smith might have speculated on the wonderful connection and interdependence between the labours of science and the labours of art:

"But we may go a step farther, to mark the beautiful process by which Providence has so interlaced and wrought up together the pursuits, interests and wants of our nature, that the philosopher, whose home seems less on earth than among the stars, requires, for the prosecution of his studies, the aid of numerous artificers, in various branches of mechanical industry, and, in return, furnishes the most important facilities to the humblest branches of manual labour. Let us take, as a single instance, that of astronomical science. It may be safely said that the wonderful discoveries of modern astronomy, and the philosophical system depending upon it, could not have existed, but for the *telescope*. The want of the telescope kept astronomical science in its infancy among the ancients. Although Pythagoras, one of the earliest Greek philosophers, is supposed to have had some conception of the elements of the Copernican system, yet we find no general and practical improvement resulting from it. In fact, it sunk beneath the false theories of subsequent philosophers. It was only from the period of the discoveries made by the telescope that the science advanced with sure and rapid progress. Now, the astronomer does not make telescopes. I presume it would be impossible for a person who employed in the abstract study of astronomical science time enough to comprehend its profound investigations, to learn and practise the trade of making glass. It is not less true, that those employed in making the glass could not, in the nature of things, be expected to acquire the scientific knowledge requisite for carrying on those arduous calculations applied to bring into a system the discoveries made by the magnifying power of the telescope. I might extend the same remark to the other materials of which a telescope consists. It cannot be used, to any purpose of nice observation, without being very carefully mounted on a frame of strong metal, which demands the united labours of the mathematical instrument maker and the brass founder. Here, then, in taking but one single step out of the philosopher's observatory, we find he needs an instrument, to be produced by the united labours of the mathematical instrument maker, the brass founder, the glass polisher, and the maker of glass—four

* Vol. i., p. 245.

trades. He must also have an astronomical clock, and it would be easy to count up half a dozen trades which, directly or indirectly, are connected in making a clock.

"But let us go back to the object-glass of the telescope. A glass factory requires a building and furnaces. The man who makes the glass does not make the building. But the stone and brick mason, the carpenter and the blacksmith, must furnish the greater part of the labour and skill required to construct the building. When it is built, a large quantity of fuel, wood and wood coal or mineral coal, of various kinds, or all together, must be provided; and then the materials of which the glass is made, and with which it is coloured, some of which are furnished by commerce from different and distant regions, and must be brought in ships across the sea. We cannot take up any one of these trades without immediately finding that it connects itself with numerous others. Take, for instance, the mason who builds the furnace. He does not make his own bricks nor burn his own lime—in common cases, the bricks come from one place, the lime from another, and the sand from another. The brick maker does not cut down his own wood; it is carted or brought in boats to his brick yard. The man who carts it does not make his own wagon, nor does the person who brings it in boats build his own boat. The man who makes the wagon does not make its tire. The blacksmith who makes the tire does not smelt the ore; and the forgerman who smelts the ore does not build his own furnace (and there we get back to the point whence we started) nor dig his own mine. The man who digs the mine does not make the pick axe with which he digs it, nor the pump which keeps out the water. The man who made the pump did not discover the principle of atmospheric pressure, which led to pump-making—that was done by a mathematician at Florence, (Torricelli,) experimenting in his chamber on a glass tube. And here we come back again to our glass, and to an instance of the close connection of scientific research with practical art. It is plain that this enumeration might be pursued till every art and every science were shown to run into every other."

* * * * *

"Not a little of the spinning machinery employed in manufacturing cotton is constructed on principles drawn from the demonstrations of transcendental mathematics, and the processes of bleaching and dyeing now practised are the results of the most profound researches of modern chemistry. And if this does not satisfy the inquirer, let him trace the cotton to the plantation where it grew, in Georgia or Alabama; the indigo to Bengal; the oil to the olive gardens of Italy, or the fishing-grounds of the Pacific Ocean; let him consider Whitney's cotton gin, Whittemore's carding machine, the power loom, and the spinning apparatus, and all the arts, trades and sciences directly or indirectly connected with these, and I believe he will soon agree that one might start from a yard of coarse printed

cotton, which costs ten cents, and prove out of it, as out of a text, that every art and science under heaven had been concerned in its fabric."*

The following beautiful passage comprises, in our opinion, the whole doctrine of physical and moral good. The union, here, of profound with familiar reasoning, is quite characteristic of the author.

"But I am met with the great objection, *What good will the monument do?* I beg leave, sir, to exercise my birthright as a Yankee, and answer this question by asking two or three more, to which I believe it will be quite as difficult to furnish a satisfactory reply. I am asked, *What good will the monument do?* And I ask, *What good does any thing do? What is good? Does any thing do good?* The persons who suggest this objection of course think that there are some projects and undertakings that do good, and I should therefore like to have the idea of *good* explained, and analyzed, and run out to its elements. When this is done, if I do not demonstrate, in about two minutes, that the monument does the same kind of good that anything else does, I will consent that the huge blocks of granite already laid should be reduced to gravel, and carted off to fill up the mill pond—for that, I suppose, is one of the good things. Does a rail-road or a canal do good? Answer, Yes. And how? It facilitates intercourse, opens markets, and increases the wealth of the country. But what is this good for? Why, individuals prosper and get rich. And what good does that do? Is mere wealth, as an ultimate end—gold and silver, without an inquiry as to their use—are these a good? Certainly not. I should insult this audience by attempting to prove that a rich man, as such, is neither better nor happier than a poor one. But as men grow rich they live better. Is there any good in this, stopping here? Is mere animal life—feeding, working and sleeping like an ox—entitled to be called good? Certainly not. But these improvements increase the population. And what good does that do? Where is the good of counting twelve millions, instead of six, of mere feeding, working, sleeping animals? There is, then, no good in the mere animal life, except that it is the physical basis of that higher moral existence which resides in the soul, the heart, the mind, the conscience, in good principles, good feelings, and the good actions (and the more disinterested, the more entitled to be called good) which flow from them. Now, sir, I say that generous and patriotic sentiments, sentiments which prepare us to serve our country, to live for our country, to die for our country—feelings like those which carried Prescott, and Warren, and Putnam to the battle-field, are good—good, humanly speaking, of the highest order. It is good to have them, good to encourage them, good to honour them, good to commemorate them, and whatever tends to animate and strengthen such

feelings does as much right down practical good as filling up low grounds and building rail-roads. This is my demonstration. I wish, sir, not to be misunderstood. I admit the connection between enterprises which promote the physical prosperity of the country and its intellectual and moral improvement; but I maintain that it is only *this connection* that gives these enterprises all their value, and that the same connection gives a like value to every thing else which, through the channel of the senses, the taste or the imagination, warms and elevates the heart.”*

We must find room for a piece of literary criticism, of the very highest order. The author thus argues the influence of pure spiritual knowledge on the progress of poetry.

“Not a ray of pure spiritual illumination shines through the sweet visions of the father of poetry. The light of his genius, like that of the moon, as he describes it in the eighth Iliad,† is serene, transparent, and heavenly fair; it streams into the deepest glades, and settles on the mountain tops of the material and social world; but, for all that concerns the spiritual nature, it is cold, watery, and unquickening. The great test of the elevation of the poet’s mind, and of the refinement of the age in which he lives, is the distinctness, power and purity, with which he conceives the spiritual world. In all else, he may be the observer, the recorder, the painter; but in this dread sphere, he must assume the province which his name imports; he must be the *maker*: creating his own spiritual world by the highest action of his mind, upon all the external and internal materials of thought. If ever there was a poetical vision, calculated not to purify and to exalt, but to abase and to sadden, it is the visit of Ulysses to the lower regions.‡ The ghosts of the illustrious departed are drawn before him, by the reeking fumes of the recent sacrifice; and the hero stands guard, with his drawn sword, to drive away the shade of his own mother from the gory trench, over which she hovers, hankering after the raw blood. Does it require an essay on the laws of the human mind, to show that the intellect, which contemplates the great mystery of our being, under this ghastly and frivolous imagery, has never been born to a spiritual life, nor caught a glimpse of the highest heaven of poetry? Virgil’s spiritual world was not essentially superior to Homer’s; but the Roman poet lived in a civilized age, and his visions of the departed are marked with a decorum and grace which form the appropriate counterpart of the Homeric grossness.

“In Dante, for the first time in an uninspired bard, the dawn of a spiritual day breaks upon us. Although the shadows of superstition rested upon him, yet the strains of the prophets were in his

* Vol. i., p. 359.

† Homer’s Iliad, VIII. 551.

‡ Odyssey, XI.

ears, and the light of divine truth, strong though clouded, was in his soul. As we stand with him on the threshold of the world of sorrows, and read the awful inscription over the portal, a chill, from the dark valley of the shadow of death, comes over the heart. The compass of poetry contains no image which surpasses this dismal inscription in solemn grandeur ; nor is there, any where, a more delicious strain of tender poetic beauty, than that of the distant vesper bell, which seems to mourn for the departing day, as it is heard by the traveller just leaving his home.* But Dante lived in an age when Christianity, if I may so speak, was paganized. Much of his poem, substance as well as ornament, is heathen. Too much of his inspiration is drawn from the stormy passions of life. The warmth with which he glowed is too often the kindling of scorn and indignation, burning under a sense of intolerable wrong. The holiest muse may string his lyre, but it is too often the incensed partisan that sweeps the strings. The 'Divine Comedy,' as his wonderful work is called, is much of it mere mortal satire.

"In 'Paradise Lost,' we feel as if we were admitted to the outer courts of the Infinite. In that all-glorious temple of genius inspired by truth, we catch the full diapason of the heavenly organ. With its choral swell, the soul is lifted from the earth. In the 'Divina Commedia,' the man, the Florentine, the exiled Ghibelline, stands out, from first to last, breathing defiance and revenge. Milton, in some of his prose works, betrays the partisan also ; but in his poetry, we see him in the white robes of the minstrel, with upturned though sightless eyes, rapt in meditation at the feet of the heavenly muse. Dante, in his dark vision, descends to the depths of the world of perdition, and homeless fugitive as he is, drags his proud and prosperous enemies down with him, and buries them, doubly destroyed, in the flaming sepulchres of the lowest hell.† Milton, on the other hand, seems almost to have purged off the dross of humanity. Blind, poor, friendless, in solitude and sorrow, with quite as much reason as his Italian rival to repine at his fortune and war against mankind, how calm and unimpassioned is he, in all that concerns his own personality ! He deemed too highly of his divine gift, to make it the instrument of immortalizing his hatreds. One cry, alone, of sorrow at his blindness, one pathetic lamentation over the evil days on which he had fallen, bursts from his full heart. There is not a flash of human wrath in all his pictures of woe. Hating nothing but evil spirits, in the childlike simplicity of his heart, his pure hands undefiled with the pitch of the political intrigues in which he had lived, he breathes forth his inexpressibly majestic strains, the poetry not so much of earth as of heaven.

"Can it be hoped that, under the operation of the influences to

* "Del Purgatorio, Canto VIII."

† "Dell' Inferno, Cantos IX, X."

which we have alluded, any thing superior to 'Paradise Lost' will ever be produced by man? It requires a courageous faith in general principles to believe it. I dare not call it a probable event; but can we say it is impossible? If, out of the wretched intellectual and moral elements of the commonwealth in England, imparting, as they did, at times, too much of their contagion to Milton's mind, a poem like 'Paradise Lost' could spring forth, shall no corresponding fruit of excellence be produced when knowledge shall be universally diffused, society enlightened, elevated and equalized, and the standard of moral and religious principle, in public and private affairs, raised far above its present level? A continued progress in the intellectual world is consistent with all that we know of the laws that govern it, and with all experience. A presentiment of it lies deep in the soul of man, spark as it is of the divine nature. The craving after excellence, the thirst for truth and beauty, has never been, never can be, fully slaked at the fountains which have flowed beneath the touch of the enchanter's wand. Man listens to the heavenly strain, and straightway becomes desirous of still loftier melodies. It has nourished and strengthened, instead of satiating, his taste. Fed by the divine aliment, he can enjoy more, he can conceive more, he can himself perform more.

"Should a poet of loftier muse than Milton hereafter appear, or to speak more reverently, when the Milton of a better age shall arise, there is yet remaining one subject worthy his powers,—the counterpart of 'Paradise Lost.' In the conception of this subject by Milton, then mature in the experience of his great poem, we have the highest human judgment, that this is the one remaining theme. In his uncompleted attempt to achieve it, we have the greatest cause for the doubt, whether it be not beyond the grasp of the human mind, in its present state of cultivation. But I am unwilling to think that this theme, immeasurably the grandest which can be contemplated by the mind of man, will never receive a poetical illustration proportioned to its sublimity. It seems to me impossible that the time, perhaps far distant, should not eventually arrive, when another Milton, divorcing his heart from the delights of life; purifying his bosom from its angry and its selfish passions; relieved, by happier fortunes, from care and sorrow; pluming the wings of his spirit in solitude, by abstinence and prayer, will address himself to this only remaining theme of a great Christian epic."*

In the next extract, we seem to be reading one of Addison's own shorter Spectators.

"Consider the influence on the affairs of men, in all their rela-

tions, of the invention of the little machine which I hold in my hand, (a watch,) and the other modern instruments for the measurement of time, various specimens of which are on exhibition in the halls. To say nothing of the importance of an accurate measurement of time in astronomical observations, nothing of the application of time-keepers to the purposes of navigation, how vast must be the aggregate effect, on the affairs of life, throughout the civilized world, and in the progress of ages, of a convenient and portable apparatus for measuring the lapse of time! Who can calculate, in how many of those critical junctures, when affairs of weightiest import hang upon the issue of an hour, prudence and forecast have triumphed over blind casualty, by being enabled to measure, with precision, the flight of time, in its smallest subdivisions! Is it not something more than mere mechanism, which watches with us by the sick-bed of some dear friend, through the livelong solitude of night, enables us to count, in the slackening pulse, nature's trembling steps towards recovery, and to administer the prescribed remedy at the precise, perhaps the critical, moment of its application?

"By means of a watch, punctuality in all his duties, which, in its perfection, is one of the incommunicable attributes of Deity, is brought, in no mean measure, within the reach of man. He is enabled, if he will be guided by this half rational machine, creature of a day as he is, to imitate that sublime precision which leads the earth, after a circuit of five hundred millions of miles, back to the solstice at the appointed moment, without the loss of one second, no, not the millionth part of a second, for the ages on ages during which it has travelled that empyreal road.* What a miracle of art, that a man can teach a few brass wheels, and a little piece of elastic steel, to outcalculate himself; to give him a rational answer to one of the most important questions which a being travelling towards eternity can ask! What a miracle, that a man can put within this little machine a spirit that measures the flight of time with greater accuracy than the unassisted intellect of the profoundest philosopher; which watches and moves when sleep palsies alike the hand of the maker and the mind of the contriver, nay, when the last sleep has come over them both!

"I saw, the other day, at Stockbridge, the watch which was worn on the eighth of September, 1755, by the unfortunate Baron Dieckau, who received his mortal wound on that day, near Lake George, at the head of his army of French and Indians, on the breaking out of the seven years' war. This watch, which marked the fierce, feverish moments of the battle as calmly as it has done the four-

* "It is not, of course, intended that the sidereal year is always of precisely the same length, but that its variations are subject to a fixed law. See Sir John Herschel's *Astronomy*, § 563."

score years which have since elapsed, is still going ; but the watch-maker and the military chieftain have now, for more than three fourths of a century, been gone where time is no longer counted. Frederic the Great was another, and a vastly more important personage of the same war. His watch was carried away from Potsdam by Napoleon, who, on his rock, in mid-ocean, was wont to ponder on the hours of alternate disaster and triumph which filled up the life of his great fellow-destroyer, and had been equally counted on its dial-plate. The courtiers used to say that this watch stopped of its own accord when Frederic died. Short-sighted adulation ! for if it stopped at his death, as if time was no longer worth measuring, it was soon put in motion, and went on as if nothing had happened.

"Portable watches were probably introduced into England in the time of Shakspeare ; and he puts one into the hand of his fantastic jester as the theme of his morality. In truth, if we wished to borrow from the arts a solemn monition of the vanity of human things, the clock might well give it to us. How often does it occur to the traveller in Europe, as he hears the hour told from some ancient steeple,—that iron tongue in the tower of yonder old cathedral, unchanged itself, has had a voice for every change in the fortune of nations ! It has chimed monarchs to their thrones, and knelled them to their tombs ; and, from its watchtower in the clouds, has, with the same sonorous and impartial stoicism, measured out their little hour of sorrow and gladness, to coronation and funeral, abdication and accession, revolution and restoration ; victory, tumult, and fire. And with like faithfulness, while I speak, the little monitor by my side warns me back from my digression, and bids me beware lest I devote too much of my brief hour even to its own commendation.*

The lovers of the Bible shall be entertained and edified by a choice extract.

"When the appointed time had come, the writings of Moses, of David, and Isaiah, locked up in a dialect which was wasting away in the cities of Judah and on the hills of Palestine, (a region at best not as large as our New-England,) were transfused into the far-reaching, widely-spoken tongue, which had become the language of government, of commerce, and of philosophy, from the mouths of the Rhone to the Indus. And in this language, and at this critical juncture of religious history, though their authors were Jews, the books of the New Testament were written in Greek. When another stupendous revolution, or rather series of revolutions, had transferred the sceptre of empire to Rome, and the Latin language

had acquired an almost exclusive predominance in Western Europe and Northern Africa, with some extension in the East, among the first intellectual phenomena of the new order of things we find the old Italic version of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, the parent of the Vulgate and so many subsequent translations. In this way, by means of the Roman language, which did not exist as a dialect on the lips of men when the earlier books of the Old Testament were written,—the language of a people who, in the days of Moses and David, were wandering a wild clan along the banks of the Tiber,—through this singular medium,—rather let me say this awe-inspiring instrumentality,—these old Hebrew voices—mute and unintelligible as originally uttered—are rendered audible and significant to the Western church and world. And then, as we descend the line of history, as the Latin and Greek, great world-dialects, become obsolete,—dying, dead languages, as we significantly call them,—and new tongues are created by the mysterious power of the vocal faculty, we are to behold, as was so well observed by Mr. Hill, as an invariable consequence, often as the first result of the change, a new translation of the Scriptures. Nowhere is this so sure to be the case as in the great national stock to which we belong. Gothic and Saxon antiquity has handed down to us, through the wreck of the dark ages, nothing older than portions of the paraphrases and versions of the Scriptures, which were made in those dialects respectively, not long after the introduction of Christianity into Germany and Britain. Indeed, in the ancient Gothic tongue I am not sure that any thing has survived but portions of the translation of the New Testament.

“Thus great and wide-spread families of men have been broken up or have silently passed away, and the tongues they spoke have ceased to be a medium of living intercourse; hordes of indigenous shepherds (indigenous we call them) grow up into enlightened states; wild tribes of nomadic conquerors pour down from the north and ripen into polished commonwealths; undiscovered continents and islands filled with strange races are made, as it were, to emerge from the deep; languages that are dying out mingle on the canvas of human fortune with languages that are coming in, like the melting images of the illusive glass, till it is impossible to tell where one begins or the other ends; but the word of God is heard along the line of the ages, distinct amidst the confusion, addressing an intelligible utterance to each successive race in the great procession of humanity. The miracle of Pentecost becomes the law of human progress, and nations that have sprung into being, cycles of ages since Moses, and the prophets, and the apostles wrote, still hear them speaking, every man in his own language.”*

* Page 669.

Here the contributor looks to the indulgent editor, as if asking, may we go on? The decided, yet kindly shake of the head puts it out of the question, and we can only *wish* that there were space to introduce passages, on the right foundation of government, vol. 1, pp. 112, 113—on the proclivity of despotic rulers to wars, illustrated by a masterly outline of modern wars, 124, 5, 6—on the Indian policy of the pilgrims, 238, 9—on the tendency of civilization to re-produce and expand itself, 273, 4, 5—on the impulse given to the industrial arts by the mere publications of Walter Scott, who, probably, never did a day's work in his life, in the ordinary acceptance of the term, 302—on the superiority of the Bunker Hill Monument to books in perpetuating the memory of the battle, 359, 60—on the unequalled moral heroism of La Fayette, 507, 8—on the discoveries yet to be effected by the growth of science, 617, 18, 19—on the enviable condition of these United States, so truly and fairly described, that the author, in his preface, needed not to have apprehended the charge of overstrained nationality, 400, 1—on the favourable influence of science upon the loftier kinds of poetry, vol. 2, 216-219—on the relative conditions of mankind the day before and the day after the discovery of printing, 240, 1—on the magical and evil-absorbing influences of the steam-engine, 245—on the momentous privileges attached to the elective franchise, 316, 17—on the decay of the primitive simplicity of school-boy manners in New-England, 603—and on the superiority of the Christian Scriptures to other books assuming the character of sacred, 672.

We will touch upon one topic more. It is interesting and even curious to observe how thoroughly *American* Mr. Everett is in his favourite themes and speculations. He seems as one born to think and to speak for his native country. Rarely does he go beyond her limits, in search of subjects on which to exert his commanding powers. Like those animals whose colour is extracted from the ground they grow on, he seems blended and identified with his natal soil. What is the spirit of our institutions? What is the plastic life of our nation's history and being? How may these be developed and carried out? These are the inquiries towards which his face is invariably set. Even his addresses while ambassador abroad, dwelt more on the land of his birth than on the

brilliant and exciting scenes around him. Cambridge reminded him of his own humbler *Alma Mater*; the cattle-shows of England carried his thoughts and fancies home; and a compliment to himself brought forth some plea for America. Most of his known writings correspond with this patriot tendency. It is notorious that a series of articles in defence of this country from his youthful pen, in the earlier numbers of the *North American Review*, attracted respectful attention abroad, and silenced a swarm of travellers and reviewers, whose richest capital consisted in slandering and depreciating every thing American. In accordance with this darling passion of his life, or rather this bent of his nature, the two volumes which we are now to dismiss, may be regarded as essentially a picture of the best and brightest side of American existence, reflected as it is from the character of the various occasions commemorated, from the orator's own manner of dealing with them, and from the approving sympathy and interest which followed him. It is not so much Mr. Everett as our own United States that produced these volumes; most other books written among us might have been composed by strangers as well as by Americans; but these, never. They are one with the country, and apart from the country, could not have been. If we wished to acquaint a foreigner with what our life and institutions are doing, and may do to achieve their happier destinies—what are the prevailing wishes, aims, tastes, thoughts and habits of our more established population—what we think of our duties and dangers—what topics will arrest our attention and engage our interest—what appeals will stir our hearts—what, in short, are the most hopeful phases of our condition and prospects,—we would not so soon point him to the journals even of impartial and kindly disposed tourists, as to these unconsciously representative, but only so much the more faithful pages of Edward Everett. His country owes him a debt of gratitude and honour, which she must take care to pay.

ART. VII.—JOURNALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

ONE of the characteristics of the present age most prominently connected with its wide-spread improvements, is the multiplication of journals and newspapers. But yesterday, as it were, a Venitian halfpenny gazette lent its name to the first little sheet that ever issued from the press for the circulation of daily intelligence, and from that germinated an influence co-extensive with the most varied interests of society—an influence acknowledged and felt by nations and governments, and controlling even private action. Indeed, a gazette, in some form or other, is identified with all our ideas of modern civilization, and addresses itself to every diversity of social taste or interest. Books, in order to accomplish their true object, are either written for the learned, or to aid men in becoming learned. The library is their appropriate sphere. They collect and perpetuate the truths of history, and the maxims of wisdom and experience drawn from them. They record, in regular series, the discoveries of science and the improvements of art. All these have their claims to paramount consideration ; but they in no manner conflict with those of daily newspapers, which are published as well for the unenlightened as the wisest, and have equal interest for the young and the old, the professional man and the mechanic, the merchant and the politician, the wayfaring man and the recluse, equally accomplishing their legitimate aim, in promoting the pleasure and instruction of all. As free as air, as penetrating as light, they have no fixed abode, but carry with them from the press a motive impulse, which gives them ready access to every house and to every hand, and speeds them on their great errand of various and useful information.

If books, as we have observed, are records of the past, informing us of what men have been, and said, and done, newspapers relate to what is present and passing, noticing occurrences as they arise, chronicling the vices, follies and extravagances of those who figure around us in every walk of life, exhibiting an ever-changing panorama, in which the mental vision, from incidents of domestic interest and importance, as from a rich foreground, may pass to the more extended horizon of foreign transactions, embracing regions however remote, nations however barba-

rous and uncivilized, and manners, customs and institutions, however similar or repugnant to our own, and, above all, rescuing from oblivion, and holding up as incentives, acts of private virtue and benevolence, which, though not worthy of a place in history, still serve to strew the paths of social and domestic life with some of its humble though sweetest ornaments.

If the poet Cowper, upwards of a half century ago, described a newspaper as the map of busy life—as that little magic folio of four pages, which even escaped the criticism of critics—if that celebrated English poet could pay so eloquent a tribute to a newspaper as is recorded in his *Task*, and that, too, long before the era of the *Times*, with its double sheets, what would he now say of that stupendous engine of moral and political power, whose influence is felt where a page of it is never read, and which, as is said, no man of intelligence could be found who does not contrive, by some means or other, to read. In what language would he express his surprise at finding his little depository of domestic and foreign intelligence, that modest chronicle of daily occurrences, in its present giant growth, leading or overruling public opinion, and even aiming at the control of legislation—applauding or censuring, in the tone of authority, the measures and policy of foreign governments, and claiming the homage of the whole civilized world!

The early employment of newspapers, after the invention of printing, shows the necessity that must have existed for such a summary of the wants and wishes of communities, for so convenient a vehicle for their publication, and also for the ready means they afforded for the gratification of that avidity for news so natural to man in every condition of society. Their introduction was an era that could not be over-estimated: for, if newspapers resulted from growing civilization, they, in turn, became a most powerful auxiliary to it. They created new desires for information, while they furnished new means of obtaining it. They afforded a depository for the expression of feelings and opinions, on subjects of common interest, and exhibited, in one view, such varied intelligence as could not fail to unite the public mind on common objects of sympathy and interest.

It is not our design, nor would it be in our power, to trace newspapers, in their expansion, to that state of un-

limited influence which they now exercise over the most important concerns of life. When we see statesmen quailing under their reproofs, communities speaking through them, as with one voice, legislation canvassed by them, the claims and qualifications of public officers fearlessly discussed in their columns, obliquity of conduct and character condemned, virtuous actions extolled, calumnies published that they may be refuted, public sympathy appealed to in behalf of injured worth or obscure merit, and its frowns invoked upon fraud and falsehood, vice and villainy, we are forced to admit that their influence is as salutary as it is potent. Yet, with all these means of control, they are restrained by responsibility to that very tribunal of which they are the organ, and are, moreover, amenable to the paramount authority of the law, and subject to its corrective checks upon their licentiousness.

We might extend this outline, but prefer confining ourselves, in the following crude and desultory remarks, to some of the more prominent features of newspapers, presuming rather to describe than to analyze. We will consider them, *first*, as political agents, and next, in connection with modern civilization, as promoting the cause of morals, science and literature.

And here it may be well remarked, that newspapers have been always associated with liberty: for, in every effort at reform, they have always clung to freedom, as though there were an affinity between them, and they were necessary to the principles of inquiry they involve. The very restraints that papers have encountered show that they are the friends and advocates of truth. Now, although the elements of English liberty may be traced back to a remote period of its history, yet the reign of Elizabeth was the great period of their manifestation—and it was in her reign, as by the interposition of Providence, that newspapers were first printed in England. Interested as we are in whatever relates to the constitutional history of that country, we cannot be indifferent to those struggles for the rights of the subject which occupy so great a portion of the seventeenth century. It is enough, however, for our present purpose, that all that was contended for—security of person and property—was triumphantly won. The English people beheld the clouds of tyranny and oppression successively roll back upon

each other, spreading their last shadows upon the crumbling engines that had been so long used to oppress them. But all was not yet surrendered, that was due to the spirit of *Magna Charta* and the *Habeas Corpus Act*. The press had always been a thing of State policy, and was still so. Although the odious abuses of the Star Chamber had been abolished, its power over the press still continued in another form, and this deprived the people of the only available weapon with which they could successfully resist the encroachments of power and privilege. So tenacious was the government, that the various statutes, licensing and restraining the press, were but slowly relaxed, and never wholly abandoned until *all* the great principles of English liberty were fully established. Then it was that the first daily newspaper was published in that country, and the "*press*," as has been observed by their great commentator, became properly free, and has ever since continued so. What a contrast with this struggle does the history of our own happy country exhibit? The freedom which the press enjoys here, was not wrung from the grasp of power; it was the creation by the people themselves, the source of all power.

The fathers of the nation had brought with them to these shores the irrepressible right to complain of wrong and oppression; they brought with them, too, the invaluable privilege of expressing and publishing all that the common welfare required. These were elements which have always existed in the sentiments of the American people, and to which our constitution has only given form and shape. The provision, it is true, guaranteeing the freedom of the press, is not to be found in the *body* of that instrument, but accompanies it as an *amendment*, as though it were a weapon, placed by the side of it, to be used *for it* when faithful, and *against it*, if recreant to its securities and trusts.

Yet, after all, the question has been very gravely made—what is the meaning of the phrase, so often used and eulogized in this country as the "*Liberty of the press*?" Does it imply exemption from the power of the government to tax printing for the purposes of revenue? Could it be intended to warrant individuals to assail and vilify the institutions of the land, or to traduce private character and invade the sanctuary of the domestic fireside? Let these queries be left to those who are versed in ab-

stract definitions, and rest satisfied that it was never intended to sanction abuses of any sort, *political or social*. No one can assail the *institutions* of our country, without rousing the pride and indignation of the people whose creation they are; whilst those institutions would fail of their object, if they did not protect the dearest right of the citizen—*character*. We may, therefore, safely adopt the sentiment of one of the framers of our Constitution—"that a right construction of the term must altogether depend on public opinion, and on the general spirit of the people and of the government." There is an influence of incalculable power in the midst of which we live, unknown to the past, and resulting altogether from modern intelligence. We mean public opinion. It is in social, civil and political life, similar to that which conscience exercises over the moral and religious world. We feel its pervading power, acknowledge our responsibility to it, act in obedience to it, and are afraid of offending it. Dogmas in religion and government have crumbled before its steady advances. The habits of society have been moulded by it anew, and made to conform to its wholesome but imperative requirements. To what, but this silent and invisible agent, can we attribute the great moral, political and religious changes which have taken place in modern society? Was it the energy and perseverance of Luther that effected the reformation? Was it Brissot, or Mirabeau, or Marat, or Robespierre, that overturned the ancient order of things in France, and brought about the revolution? or was it the virtue and wisdom of Washington, that established the liberties of our country? These all were but developments of the public mind, intensely and irresistibly directed to its respective objects. And what was the late terrific revolution in France, but the sudden outbreak of elements whose natural action had been counteracted by a disregard of those laws and principles, which could alone keep them in proper and healthful subjection?

In the republics of antiquity, the popular will, however strongly manifested, was always controlled by crafty leaders, and made the instruments of their ambitious designs. It seldom acted as an original impelling cause, for their limited means of recording facts and extending information, prevented that transmission and interchange of thought and opinion, which could alone make it an agent of any

power. In brief, they were without *newspapers*, which, as has been justly said, would have contributed more to preserve the freedom of ancient republics, than all the institutions of their legislators.

The "*acta diurna urbis*," the "*acta populi*," and all other records of public proceedings amongst the Romans, may have answered, as Dr. Adams, the antiquarian, observes, as means of information for historians, which is shewn by their frequent reference to them; but they could only be considered as a registry of matters of local concern, without the least analogy to the means suggested by modern ingenuity for the diffusion of intelligence; for if Julius Cæsar, who directed the proceedings of the Senate to be thus published, could have commanded, in the plenitude of his power, but one of the least of those daily sheets which issue from a modern village press, what different events may have been recorded, even in his own subsequent history! We have often (however vainly) thought that if a Roman newspaper, published in the days of Augustus, or an Athenian chronicle of the daily gossip of Pericles and his cotemporaries, could be read by us now, they would bring us nearer to those great men, and initiate us further into the mysteries of their politics, than would be the case could we enjoy a personal introduction to any of their historians. One thing is very certain, the existence of newspapers among them would have changed the whole aspect of history, and have left the impress of their power on every page of it. Let us only think what, as mere publishers of the deliberations and decrees of the Roman Senate, or as reporting and circulating the speeches of Athenian orators, or as enlisted agents of party in their turbulent democracy, with all the light they might have shed, and all the agitations they might have produced or prevented, might have been the extent of their power. How many revolutions they might have caused or checked. How many names, now prominent in history, might have been unknown, and, indeed, into what different channels they might have turned the whole current of events. But how different is it with us in this age of light. We live under a government of public opinion—our constitution is but a summary of it, sifted, as it were, through the wisdom of its framers. The popular character of our institutions, and the responsibility of all public agents, require that

rapid, unrestrained and general circulation of intelligence, which every citizen of our great republic has a right to expect, and which, collectively, they only can receive through the means of the daily press. The daily press is also the great exponent of the popular will—the moving principle of legislation; in which character it may be said even to foreshadow every important measure of government. Let this, then, explain the fact, which we have seen recently stated, that there are more newspapers published in the United States, than in all the world beside; and, it is equally true, that their character, under our free institutions, is diametrically opposite to what it is under jealous and arbitrary governments. Instead of being subject to supervisions, or censorships, and other restraints, as with them, they exercise, with us, a similar power over every department of the government; and there is not an officer, from the highest to the lowest, who does not feel their control, and shrink from their rebukes.

The press, in great Britain, whence we derive our civil institutions, is equally free. In neither country does it know any restriction, except upon its licentiousness. The words of Blackstone apply equally to both:

“Every freeman has an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public; to forbid this, is to destroy the freedom of the press; but if he publishes what is improper, mischievous, or illegal, he must take the consequences of his own temerity.”

Now, both countries may be equally proud of this freedom, yet how decidedly superior are the advantages of American newspapers, in their exemption from taxation.

We have seen it recently stated, and it is worthy of notice, that the London Times pays the government an annual tax upon the paper it consumes of \$68,500, and upon its stamps \$243,793; to which may be added the duty on the profits of advertising, stated at \$156,000 more; and upon this ratio are all other papers taxed in that country. In ours, we may confidently say, that any duty or excise, calculated to clog or impede the circulation of intelligence amongst the people, would be promptly and effectually controlled by that great engine of sovereign power of which we have just spoken—public opinion. But let us pass to other views of our subject.

The opportunities which newspapers afford to every individual of publishing his sentiments on agitating ques-

tions, is calculated to allay the violence of party, and to moderate those dissensions which, in ancient republics, gave rise to turbulent and dangerous factions. For, no sooner do parties arise, than papers take sides with or against them, and vent, in argument and vituperation, that bitterness which, without such safety valves and conductors, might ultimately and fatally disturb the public tranquility.

Solon's reason for allowing no Athenian to be neuter in public dissensions, was that good men might divide and throw themselves into the rank of either party, and thus moderate them by counsel and example—which shews that papers incidentally accomplish all that was designed in this respect by the wisdom of that great lawgiver. If this discussion of party differences serves to *dissipate* their *acrimony*, it also answers another end, in preserving the *memorials* of them, as not only the best practical illustration of the freedom of our institutions, but as furnishing the arguments *pro and con*, in all similar exigencies, and in the revival of all like subjects for discussion. We have no *London Times*, with its controlling power—no *Moniteur*, such as it was when Bonaparte dictated its articles with his own pen—no *Journal des Debats*, with its ministerial authority. But, our newspaper press is as republican as our institutions—governed in the several States by feelings of local pride and interest, they reflect, in the aggregate, the great features of national sentiment; and, when subjects of general interest occupy their columns, and the glory or safety of our common country is their theme, a leading article from the remotest corner of it is sure of an univereal response. In this respect, we have always regarded newspapers as one of the great moral links of our confederacy, and there can be no doubt of their intimate connection with its growing intelligence and prosperity. In this connection, we may here notice the courtesy practised by editors of *exchanging*, which gives the earliest opportunity to *each* of acquiring the local intelligence they convey, and to *all* of them a national character by the re-publication of it.

The early provincial newspapers were single half sheets, claiming nothing more than the circulation of advertisements. The first published was in Boston, in 1704; in Pennsylvania in 1719; in South-Carolina in 1730.

Their first political move in America, was in noticing events of *common interest* among the colonies ; and when the circumstances of our common country required their aid, they threw off the character of royal gazettes, and became staunch and unyielding champions of American liberty.

They re-echoed the complaints of the people,—they caught the first sounds of confidence and hope,—they promulgated the counsels and determinations of our statesmen, and spread over the land the chequered news of reverse and triumph ; keeping hope alive until it was realized in the attainment of all that our country had contended for.

No sooner had our federal constitution gone into operation than two great national parties arose, which, under its untried energies, might have led to anarchy, and have frustrated the last hopes of regulated liberty, had not the daily and periodical press of that period invited discussion on the great points of difference, and come to the aid of what has since proved to be one of the noblest efforts of human wisdom. The publications of the day, at the head of which stands the *Federalist*, still continue to throw light upon the object of their disputes, and will be always valued as a cotemporaneous commentary upon the great charter of American liberty.

Since that period to the present, the multiplication of papers, (for they are read by every body,) the editorial intelligence they display, their diligent attention to the great objects of their establishment, particularly in relation to political and commercial matters, have so completely identified them with the national prosperity, that we cannot but consider them as one of its most prominent developments. In what country, and in what periods of time, was there ever offered so wide a field of industry and enterprise to give interest to the columns of the newspaper ? where such a variety of character and occupation ? where such mighty efforts of ingenuity and perseverance ? where such a combination of conflicting interests, harmonized for the promotion of the general welfare ? where a more diversified and far-spreading commerce ? all of which are the common topics of our daily journals, and are not too prolific for their incredibly enlarged numbers. Newspapers were the first to inform us of the discoveries of Fulton—of the application of

steam to rail-roads—of the invention of the telegraph—and, indeed, of every other project or improvement that has characterized American ingenuity. Add to this, the rapidity with which, through the aid of steam, they spread themselves over every section of the country. A speech of Mr. Calhoun, or Mr. Webster, delivered in the Senate, might be circulated with great precision throughout the whole Union in much less time than one of Cicero's or Hortensius's orations could have been published throughout the city of Rome.

Another feature in their character, is the foreign and domestic correspondence, through which the most valuable and interesting information is hourly conveyed. Nor is this the limit of editorial zeal. We know at what risks the recent campaigns in Mexico have been most vividly and graphically portrayed by correspondents of the editorial corps, who accompanied the army in all its arduous and enterprising movements, sharing in its common danger, without any of the animating impulses that belong alone to the military character; and this enterprise was not confined to our country. We are told by the Paris correspondent of our (Charleston) Courier, that the London Times had its reporting agent in every skirmish that took place in the late Revolution in France. Indeed, we have no reason to doubt that they are despatched promptly to every scene of probable action throughout the civilized world.

Newspapers, as registers of passing events, combine, in an eminent degree, two of the great attributes which Cicero ascribes to history. They are not only the "*testis temporum*," but the "*vita memoriæ*"—preserving facts not unworthy of record, because not of sufficient importance to occupy the page of history, yet chronicling much that may add to its usefulness and interest. We turn over the files of old Charleston papers, in the admirable library of that city, with veneration—for they carry us back into the presence of our predecessors, and we walk with them, as it were, amidst the foundations of the old city, and of its prosperity. We hear them discussing the necessity of a college in the province, and of petitioning the General Assembly for the establishment of one (March, 1770.) We turn and see a group of factors and merchants, assembled to determine on *non-importation* "until the colonies be restored to their ancient freedom." A marriage is an-

nounced, and who is the youthful bridegroom? The ancestor of a numerous race—the germ of a great progeny that is now spread over the land and filling its high places. In another part, we find “our gracious sovereign” invoking the sympathy of Lords and Commons assembled round his throne, and dolefully complaining “that in some of his colonies, many persons had embarked in highly unwarrantable measures, calculated to destroy the commercial connection between them and the mother country.”

In these venerable chronicles, we read of many things as occurrences of the day, which have since become interwoven in the history of our country; and it is only to be regretted that the early papers of all the colonies had not been more regularly preserved in their day, with a spirit prophetic of their future value. We perceive that a bill has been lately introduced into the Legislature of New-Jersey, for the preservation of the newspapers published in that State; “which, as a general or local history, will, in future years,” it is remarked, “as matters of reference, be invaluable.”

Papers, as we have before observed, are not only political agents, which is, indeed, their proper character, not only from their origin, [for they were first published in Venice by order of the Doge in manuscript, to keep the republic informed of the events of the war with the Turks, and Elizabeth had them printed in England, to encourage her subjects upon the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada,] but also from long continued use in what was considered their appropriate function. But they were the first instruments upon which the regenerative principles of modern society shed their influence, and they became at once enlisted as their great advocates and promulgators in the cause of civilization and human progress. Hence, they assumed a new character; and, instead of being mere political and domestic registers, widen their aims, embrace society in all its varied relations within the scope of their exertions, and, (if the figure be not too bold,) we may say that they are the corporeal form in which that spirit is now wafted over the whole civilized world, imparting hope and energy to the oppressed of every nation, convicting despots on their thrones, and encouraging man everywhere to persevere in the liberal

efforts they are making for the attainment of regulated and constitutional liberty.

This, then, brings us to the second view we proposed to take of them as connected with modern civilization, and, indeed, with that whole system of amelioration which is now in progress throughout the world, and which, notwithstanding every diversity of climate, habit or government, is associating the human family, however scattered, in one great community of interests and exertions. With all due allowance, therefore, for a becoming devotion to their primary vocation, and a proper attention to public and national affairs, we cannot but recognize them as the advocates of religion, morals, science and literature, each, in itself, an elevating principle. Hence, that miscellaneous character which adopts them to every taste and calling of society, and insinuates and recommends them to all classes. The farmer, the mechanic, the jurist, the physician, the merchant, the artist, the man of science, and last, though not least, the religious man, finds them always teeming with the sources of interest and instruction. They are as important to the man whose only employment is idleness, as they are to him who considers time the most productive of all stock. They soothe the listlessness of the one, and stimulate the enterprise of the other.

Throw aside, then, their political character, and expunge from their columns every article that savours of it, and *how much* still have we to appreciate in the qualities that remain. In this respect, let us remember that there is a pledge for their *purity* in the very *generality of their circulation*, which submits them to the daily inspection of the enlightened and virtuous of every community. Books are *to be sought for*, and may be withheld if they are improper; but newspapers are the companions of the breakfast table;—they present the first lines to the eye of innocence after the devotions of the morning, and what editor would dare to offend it by impurity or immorality? This is an important guaranty, and one which newspapers have it in their power to strengthen by their own influence and tendency. What formerly was the peculiar feature of literary periodicals, is now characteristic of the entire daily press. Its diversity of materials, borrowed from every department of knowledge, makes it as well a means of instruction as a register of events. In superseding

measurably the magazines which were formerly in vogue, it might justly usurp their motto for its province—

“Simul jucunda et idonea dicere vitæ.”

The youthful writer, who shrinks from public criticism, ventures his modest effusions to the protection of the newspaper, and many a sweet lay has been thus rescued from oblivion, and attracted to the juvenile author that attention which has been ripened by his maturer efforts into admiration. Thus, whilst it preserves much fugitive literature, which would otherwise never meet the public eye, it diffuses, in a way unknown to any other channel, a taste for intellectual beauty.

Without caring for what we risk by the confession, we freely acknowledge that we never read a poem of Mrs. Hemans except in the columns of a newspaper. We have yet to admire the constellation formed by these scattered luminaries. Nor can we forget that it was through the same means that we first became acquainted with the immortal writer of the “Thanatopsis.”

It has often occurred to us that there are few more practical instructors in *geography* than newspapers—for every incident or event they narrate is accompanied with its locality, and it is curious to observe what opposite parts of the globe are thus brought into juxtaposition in their columns—what various customs and institutions are described—what comprehensive statistics—what agricultural and commercial intelligence—what improvements in arts and manufactures—and how beautifully they unfold the progress of Christian labour on distant continents, in the great cause of truth.

Every student knows what Polybius, the historian, says of geography—that it “is one of the eyes of history.” The newspapers will admirably assist him in the employment of this eye. Let the youthful reader, therefore, take a word of counsel from us, and, whenever he can find time to look into the morning “folio of four pages,” let him keep his atlas conveniently at his elbow.

We have purposely omitted to mention the weekly religious journals that have assumed this popular form, because they are worthy of separate consideration, and lay claim to a great share of the credit allowed to the daily and periodical press of this country, for its moral tone and its diffusion of correct knowledge, and which is

said to have a more beneficial influence than any other element of society, except *schools* and the *pulpit*. These papers differ neither in shape nor arrangement from ordinary ones, and circulate as widely. They are to be found in every department of the household of faith, and are therefore very numerous—for it has been remarked that the freedom with which religious opinions may be enjoyed in this country, has generated more of them here than in any other in the world. They differ from tracts, (another triumph of the modern press,) which, being mostly designed for the uneducated, are written in plain and homely language, for the enforcement of a single truth or the recommendation of a single moral duty. They differ equally from critical essays on religious or moral topics, such as Addison's Saturday papers, or other periodical works on theological literature, written only for the cultivated. But, adapting themselves to popular taste by means of original essays and criticisms, devotional poetry and religious intelligence, they engage, by a winning variety, the attention both of ordinary and enlightened readers.

The usefulness of religious newspapers has, however, been gravely questioned, on account of their sectarian character—their object being rather to enforce particular doctrines and tenets than to recommend truths of general concernment, thus marking more distinctly those lines of partition which separate men from their neighbours, and weakening the bonds of peace and harmony which ought to unite all Christians. But whilst we are compelled to admit the charge, and to lament the narrow and controversial spirit which they too often breathe, there is hope that the time will come, when, instead of limiting their usefulness by advocating sectarian dogmas and prejudices, they will forget the minor differences that divide and distract the Christian world, and unite their endeavours in advancing the common cause of truth and brotherly love.

This paragraph cannot be more appropriately concluded than with the following passage, from the “Banner of the Cross,” an Episcopal journal :

“ If we desire religious knowledge to keep pace with the advance of all other knowledge, we must not disdain to use the agency which the taste and habits of our times have adopted as the chosen means of obtaining information. It would, perhaps, astonish us, had we

the means to discover how many minds, in this intelligent day, depend, for all the knowledge they acquire through the press, upon *newspapers*. And how many more, of higher intellectual grade, derive their whole knowledge from periodical literature. And thus it is that religious intelligence, coming in the columns of a newspaper, secures attention, when, in all other shapes, it would be disregarded."

If we were called upon to say what is the most prominent indication of a wide-spread improvement in literary taste throughout our country, we would not hesitate to attribute it to the character of our newspapers, many of which are exclusively devoted to intellectual entertainment—*Brother Jonathan*, and the *New World*, truly American, as their names imply, are little volumes of knowledge in themselves. And these are mentioned merely as the designation of a large class of that description. Now, connect this with the facilities afforded by our government for their dispersion, through the mail, to the utmost extent of its transportation, speeding them on their mission of light and information to every part of our common country; consider the progressive character of knowledge, and how naturally books succeed to journals, and it accounts very satisfactorily for that intelligence which is so prominent a characteristic of the great body of the American people. Let a short and very imperfect review (for we can offer no other) show the progress of literary journals in this country.

A magazine and review was established by Dr. Franklin, as far back as 1741. But in that undertaking his judgment was committed by his zeal, for it was of short continuance. We are informed that it was succeeded by others, with no better success, for, at that early period, however numerous the labourers, the harvest was small. For a long time, the "*American Museum*," printed in Philadelphia soon after the revolution, was the chief or only literary miscellany published in this country. After its discontinuance (in 1791) succeeded a period which may be truly called a *dark age* in our history, so far as the interests of letters were concerned. Book stores were few, and novel reading, from the "*Minerva press*," the prevailing taste. But our venerable colleges were labouring in the work of regeneration—their lamps were kept burning. A future dawn of brightness animated their hopes, and when that dawn did appear, we all re-

member the invidious efforts of foreign journals to overcloud it. But it gradually enlarged its sphere, and although yet far short of the meridian, has diffused a radiance in which we may truly exult. With such names as Prescott, Irving, Cooper, Bryant, Halleck and many others, we may defy all these *anti-American* prejudices. We no longer feel the want of educated readers, so baneful in its effects upon intellectual ambition, for there is a spirit among us that will not sleep again, and with it the ability to discern and appreciate the highest excellence. In nothing is this more fully exemplified than in the number and character of our reviews, the contributors to which are, for the most part, not professional writers, showing a high degree of cultivation in the communities in which they are severally published.

To the qualities which distinguished them—varied learning, able analysis, critical taste—may be added, though not least in importance, a high moral tone, pledging their co-operation in advancing the best interests of society. The reviewer, in his legitimate vocation, stands between the writer and the public, to usher merit into favourable notice, to commend truth, to expose fallacies, and guard the outpost of domestic purity from insidious approach; to give warning of all pernicious principles, however treacherously concealed amidst the beauties of language, or insinuated through the bewitching interest of narrative; and to assail and refute, with all the power of argument, or other weapon of controversy, every sophism in morals or religion that might endanger social welfare. For instance: if the philosophy of Hume had been assailed, at the first, with all the spirit and power which now characterize the British reviews, and its infidel tendencies fairly unmasked, how successfully may they have arrested its baneful influence.

The intelligent reader need not be reminded of the names of the prominent American reviews, and how strikingly they exhibit the widely-diffused talent and education of the country; nor need they be told of their comparative rank with all foreign publications of the same description, for they are to be found on the shelves of every well-selected library.

In this book-making age, it is impossible for the most diligent reader to comply with the demands which claim his attention in such rapid and uninterrupted succession.

But the reviewer comes to his aid, and warns him, like a beacon, of the shoals on which he may irrecoverably shipwreck his valuable time. He informs him of the amount which each new publication adds to the general stock of knowledge, and often condenses into one short article the spirit diffused over a bulky volume.

Let us now briefly consider the critical, scientific and other journals, of a more durable character than daily ones, whose successful multiplication are proofs of the researches and ability directed to the subjects they severally illustrate. Whilst each great metropolis of Europe concentrates the talent and learning of its own nation, with all the advantages of incitements peculiar to collision of mind and union of exertion, the American student, without this advantage, and in his own local sphere, has accomplished all that could have been derived from such a stimulus—for there is no liberal pursuit or professional department in the United States which cannot boast of one or more journals devoted to its advancement. Foreigners may sneer at our democratic institutions, as being unfriendly to original efforts in literature, science, and the fine arts. And so it might be, but for the co-operation of the impulses given by the all-pervading spirit of modern improvements.

In passing to the scientific journals, we would observe that the *Transactions of the American Phil. Soc.* (instituted 1769) was, for a long while, the only scientific journal published in this country. Now, to mention but a few of the most prominent: there is the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences*, in Philadelphia; the *Annals of the New-York Lyceum*; *Silliman's Journal*, a work as highly appreciated by the scientific in Europe as in this country; *Mitchell's Sidereal Messenger*, published in Cincinnati, and said to be the only popular astronomical journal in the world; the *North-American*; *Bronson's*; the *Cambridge Examiner*; the *Messenger*; the *Commercial Reviews*, (*Hunt's* and *DeBow's*); but the reader must make the catalogue for himself. It may be permitted to us, however, to particularize one among the many, one whose short but brilliant career reflected so much honour on our community—a casket enshrining the memorials of some of the worthiest sons of Carolina. If books, as Plato said, are immortal sons, deifying their fathers, surely the "*Southern Review*" will forever perpetuate the names of

Stephen Elliott and Hugh Legaré, its learned and accomplished conductors, "*apollineo nomina digna choro*," names worthy of the widest renown.

Our medical and surgical journals and reviews, combining science and literature, are also entitled to the highest praise, and show that the medical faculty are zealous to disseminate, as well as to discover truth, by publishing their daily improvements in the healing art. We remember once thinking that the difficulties of legal practice were infinitely greater than those of the medical, because the physician was only called on to exercise his knowledge, while the lawyer was not only required to *use* but *display* his, amidst the competition of the bar. But now the case is altered. The medical education, in its various branches, must necessarily embrace all that is required for the accomplished lecturer and the able writer. We might, indeed, say that literature is blended in the everyday pursuit of life. The farmer has his magazine, and the merchant his—which, in addition to the interest they possess for those to whom they are particularly addressed, increase the circle of general knowledge, and thereby multiply the resources of conversation. But the great triumph of the modern art is the "*Tailor's Magazine*," a work of infinite taste, ornamented by the most improved cuts, and showing how anxious the craft is that this should be a land of good habits.

If such and so various are the means by which our periodical press accomplishes its mighty ends—if so irresistible its control over every important interest of society, and so vast the field of its labours, for it embraces a country larger than all Europe, and which is filling up with an active and intelligent population, with a rapidity unknown in the annals of the world—what ought to be the governing principle of so great an engine? What the master-spirit to direct its operations? Let this important question find an answer in the impression which every journalist ought to entertain of his own position, and its relations to society. He must feel that he is altogether the growth of modern civilization—that his very name and calling are unknown to the past, not to be found in the vocabulary of classic antiquity, and that his occupations are without example in its most enlightened periods—that he is an enlisted champion in the cause of human advancement, with the collective wisdom and

experience of all history before him, and the hand of religion extended to him—that he is under a paramount obligation, on every principle, moral, social and political, to maintain the supremacy of law and order, as the only true safeguards of regulated freedom—and that all his energies should be directed to the illustration and enforcement of that cardinal republican maxim, “the greatest good of the greatest number.” Not being infallible himself, when called upon to criticise, reprove or condemn, he must perform his office in all charity and forbearance—and, lastly, that he be influenced by an abiding conviction that the affairs of men, both individually and collectively, are best regulated by harmony and intelligence, as is plainly shown, not only by its analogy to the supreme government of the universe, but by its conformity to the obvious and unavoidable tendencies of the art of printing.

Let these be the basis of the estimate that the editor forms of his station and of its duties, and the principle of action will not be wanting to direct the press toward the accomplishment of its highest destinies. C. F.

ART. VIII.—THE POETICAL REMAINS OF MARY E. LEE.

The Poetical Remains of the late Mary Elizabeth Lee, with a Biographical Memoir. By S. GILMAN, D.D.
Charleston: Walker & Richards.

MARY E. LEE is no more ! The “*lone star*” of the South has hastened to her setting, while yet it was early evening. It is a happy and grateful thing that the memoir of her life should have been written by her pastor—by him who led her early steps through the flowery paths and up the sometimes dark hill-side of knowledge, and directed her to the glorious summit, from whence she descried the lone star which kindled her fancy, and where, from time to time, she heard “whisperings of the angels”—and by him especially from whom she learnt so well the triumph over death, as to see only light and glory in the grave.

The biographer's criticism of her poetry is, we think, just and discriminating, and, though undertaking the office full of a fervid love of the author, yet, so constant was

his eye to truth, and so firm was his grasp, that love, strong as death, could not relax the one nor dazzle the other.

The incidents of a home life afford no food for the reader who seeks only excitement; but her life is an eloquent example of self-training, of modesty, of docility and of perseverance. She sought few pleasures save those of letters, home and friends—and these she loved most dearly—and received in return the meed of literary fame, and the responsive love of all around her.

The volume is a collection of occasional poems, no one of any considerable length. The diction and rhythm of the verse is exceedingly good, and it moves with freedom, not seeming to feel the shackles of rhyme. The pieces suggested by home, and the religious pieces, we consider far the best. The former are consecrated to the domestic hearth. Of these we dare not speak. Of the latter we would say that a strong and cultivated mind, taking fire from a glowing heart, has chosen and embraced subjects of Scripture interest, and has quickened them with the motions of fancy and of song.

Our favourite piece is "The Blind Negro Communicant." It is too long to be quoted entire, but we offer you the concluding lines, and we hope that some of the "higher law" party, who seek a legislation above the constitution and a philanthropy superior to that of the Bible, will read the whole of it, and may it teach them charity!

"The bread and wine were brought;
He wiped the gushing drops from his thin cheek,
Bowed solemnly—received them both—then paused—
Till raising his dull eye-balls up to heaven,
As asking for God's blessing on the rite,
He broke the bread, received the goblet close
Within his withered hands; restored it safe;—
Then, while a peaceful smile illumed his face,
Sank back, as in an ecstasy of bliss.
The parting hymn was sung, and oft I paused,
And loved to listen, as the old man's voice,
Broken and shrill, sought too to mingle in,
With modulated tones, and though his *lip*
Uttered no music, yet I joyed to know
The *heart* was all linked-melody within.
Christ's seal was stamped anew upon each soul;
The solemn rite was finished, and the band,

Warmed to each kindly touch of human love,
 Moved, full of thoughtful cheerfulness, along
 The quiet church-yard, where gay sunbeams danced
 On the white marble tombs, and bright flowers made
 A pleasant home for death; while 'mongst them all
 The blind communicant went groping on
 Along his midnight path. The sight was sad.—
 My heart yearned for him—and I longed for power
 To say, as the disciples said of old,
 "Blind man ! receive thy sight,"—and in the might
 Of strong compassion, I could even, methought,
 Have entered his dark prison-house awhile,
 And let him gaze, in turn, on the blue skies
 And the glad sunshine, and the laughing earth.
 But soon I owned a sense of higher things,
 And in the heart's soft dialect I said,
 "Old soldier of the cross, 'tis well with thee !
 Thy warfare is nigh finished ; and though earth
 Be but an utter blank, yet soon thou'lt gaze
 On that bright country where thy God shall be
 The never-setting Sun ; and Christ, thy Lord,
 Will lead thee through green pastures, where the still
 And living waters play.—And though thou art
 A creature lonely and unprized by *men*,
 Yet thou may'st stand a prince 'mongst princes, when
 The King makes up his jewels !"

All the poets love the chimes of the bells ; but *they*
 were *Sabbath bells* which struck the chords of the poet's
 heart, and made it echo back these sacred notes :

"SABBATH BELLS.*

"Sweet Sabbath bells ! sweet Sabbath bells !
 How clear and deep your music swells ;
 Oh ! though ye speak in solemn voices,
 Yet still the inmost heart rejoices.

The city's crowd delight to hear
 Your hallowed summons far and near ;
 And childhood's noisy greeting tells
 How much it loves you, Sabbath bells !

* "The bells of Rylestone seemed to say,
 While she sat listening in the shade,
 With vocal music, ' God us ayde !'
 And all the hills were glad to bear
 Their part in this effectual prayer."

The aged and the sick lie still,
 Beneath your calm and soothing thrill;
 On sorrow's ear the echo swells,
 Like tones from heaven, ye Sabbath bells!

The sailor, on the dark sea's foam,
 Cheers his lone heart with thoughts of home,
 And, 'mid its countless spring-tide spells,
 Yours are the strongest, Sabbath bells!

Oh yes! in every favoured clime,
 Where'er is heard your silver chime,
 'Neath palace roofs or lowly cells,
 Ye find a welcome, Sabbath bells!"

Professor Wilson has some sweet lines about bells, which haunt our memory, and we commend them to the notice and memory of all who may read them. In explanation of which we quote from Macaulay's England, in his description of Magdalene College, at Oxford:

"A graceful tower, on the summit of which a Latin hymn was annually chaunted by choristers, at the dawn of May-day, caught, afar off, the eye of the traveller who came from London."

"Why hang the sweet bells mute in Magdalene tower,
 Still wont to usher in delightful May,
 The dewy silence of the morning hour
 Cheering with many a changeful roundelay?
 And those pure youthful voices, where are they,
 That, hymning far up in the listening sky,
 Seemed issuing softly through the gates of day,
 As if a troop of sainted souls on high
 Were hovering o'er the earth, with angel melody?"

Prof. Wilson.—Scholar's Funeral.

The piece entitled "Convalescence" is very interesting, and shows what visions sometimes appear when the body is sick and faint, but the heart is whole—when the tremulous mind, awaking with a start, frequently catches glimpses of the spirit-land, and in the misty chamber a light is shed, and there is seen, as it were, "an angel writing in a book of gold."

"CONVALESCENCE.

"'Surely 'tis a kind world I have returned to;
There's sympathy and love in every heart.'—MISS BAILLIE.

"Come, retrospection, with thy prism-glass
Of rainbow dyes, and help me to retrace
The sweets of convalescence! Not that kind
That bears a parching lip and fevered brow,
With such a perfect weariness of mind,
A weakness so oppressive, that the heart's
Too shattered cordage can no longer ope
Its sails to passing sympathy and love;—
But that delicious languor, with each sense
Of inner action, by some secret spell
Made pure and sublimated; a strange state,
Mid-way 'twixt earth and heaven; a second birth
To mind's immortal essence, when a light
From depths of distance seems to hover o'er
Our inmost spirits, and the soul doth stretch
Its broad and viewless pinions, and takes in
Almost infinity;—when too, the deep
And countless treasures of love are filled
Quite to o'erflowing, and the simplest things,
The most familiar images of life,
Are clad in such fresh colouring, that they seem
Dipt in the hues of heaven.
Thus 'twas with me some few short years ago,
When, after days of malady and pain,
And endless nights of tossing and unrest,
Sickness resigned her sceptre, and glad health
Sent, as her herald, to my prison-couch,
The angel convalescence. How I joyed
To feel her cooling touch, and closely press
Her white wing to my bosom, till methought
I could have sketched her portrait, as she stood
To fancy's magic sight, her wand upraised,
Her robe of slightest texture fluttering free,
While to my eager lip she prest the cup
Of nectared life-drops. On her brow she wore
A wreath of spotless flowers, that shed around
Unwonted perfume, while her half-closed eye,
From 'neath its filmy screen, shone soft and clear
As a young dew-drop, ere the morning beam
Doth claim its tribute."

And now the sickness came which knew no convalescence, and has taken away Mary Lee. But as she desired "no costly stone to mark the place of her last sleep," but only summer flowers, we bring this garland, wreathed by Milton's hand, and leave it on her tomb :

"When faith and love, which parted from thee never,
Had ripened thy just soul to dwell with God,
Meekly thou did'st resign this earthly load
Of death called life, which us from life doth sever.
Thy works, and alms, and all thy good endeavour
Staid not behind, nor in the grave were trod,
But, as faith pointed with her golden rod,
Followed thee up to joy and rest forever."

Y.

ART. IX.—RURAL CEMETERIES.

Magnolia Cemetery: The Proceedings at the Dedication of the Grounds: to which are appended the rules, regulations and charter of the company, with a list of officers and members of the Board. Charleston: Walker & James. 1851.

THE care and solicitude which the living manifest, in regard to the disposition and preservation of the remains of the dead, are illustrative of some of the most grateful traits of humanity. It is not enough that filial love should honour the father while he lives, and dutifully soothe and attend him in the hours of his decline; it requires that we should bestow his ashes with a regard to their safety from desecration, and honour their place of keeping with proofs of our remembrance. The instinct which prompts to this duty is of intimate connection with our noblest virtues. It is in proof of our gratitude, our love, our veneration. It exhibits a due sense of what belongs to humanity, of its high deserts, and of the eternal tenure of the soul. A belief in "the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting, compels this consideration even of the corruptible; since we are taught that this corruptible shall put on incorruption," and that the spiritual

being shall again inform with animation and consciousness the silent remains which lie before us demanding sepulture. It is not mere dust and ashes that we behold. It is the tenement of a life once most precious, which the former occupant shall once more repossess, however temporarily, and with which he will emerge into more sublime possessions. Our faith, no less than our sympathies and instincts, demand that we shall shrine the remains of the beloved one, as some precious deposit, confided to our keeping.

The race of man, in all ages, has exhibited these sympathies and instincts. However various the modes of sepulture, whether by burning, embalming or inhumation, the solicitude has been universal to this effect: and art has become tributary to love and duty, in designing a thousand modes by which to preserve the remains of those we venerate. The publication before us contains frequent passages which illustrate the burial customs of antiquity. In general terms, Mr. Fraser, in the graceful oration which forms one of the chapters in this publication, remarks:—

“ This duty is so consonant to the best feelings of humanity, that there is none more universally recognized. Even the savage lays aside his ferocity in its pious discharge; and in constructing the mound of turf over the remains of his kindred, seems to invoke the sympathies of posterity. The remotest nations of antiquity—those whose history is but dimly discovered through the mists of time—have yet left indestructible memorials of their pious and ardent desire to preserve the remains, and embalm the memory, of distinguished cotemporaries and cherished relatives. This duty, so sacred even amongst the uncivilized, becomes elevated in proportion to the refinement and cultivation, either of the individual or the community which it influences. If it be natural and grateful, it is also honourable and praiseworthy, and involves a high and abiding social obligation. Who can estimate the claims of the grave? To the dead we are indebted for the purest examples of public virtue, and of private worth. To the dead we are indebted for many of those discoveries and improvements in art and science, which are diffusing the blessings of comfort and prosperity throughout the world. To the dead we owe the high standards of intelligence and urbanity which give to social intercourse its greatest charm. To the dead, even in our own beloved country, we owe not only the foundations of the great fabric of our liberties, but those lessons of wisdom, justice and moderation, upon the observance of which alone can depend its stability. Whilst to the memory of those with whom we have journeyed through the rugged paths of life, and “ taken

sweet counsel together," we owe the unceasing tribute of respect and affection—that tribute which

"A grateful mind,
By owing, owes not. But still pays, at once
Indebted and discharged."

And shall not such considerations as these awaken a deep sense of the claims which society has upon our best efforts for its welfare? How much of those exertions, corporeal and intellectual, which it would have been our duty to make, have we been exempted from by the labours of our predecessors? Shall we then live on the wealth acquired by their industry, or bask in the glory which their virtues have reflected, and yet be regardless of what we owe to posterity? Is it not rather sacredly incumbent on us to endeavour to transmit, improved and multiplied, the benefits and advantages thus gratuitously provided for us? These obligations, if duly regarded, cannot fail to stimulate and ennoble our exertions. These are the appeals of the grave—these its voiceless teachings, the lesson it inculcates, the feelings it invokes, and the debt it calls upon us to discharge. Then hallowed, forever hallowed, be its precincts. May they be invested with every association that can heighten their solemnity, or add to their quietude."

Nor was it held sufficient by any refined people, that the inanimate remains of the beloved one should simply be put from sight and preserved with veneration. The sacred deposit was honoured with tributes, at once fond and fanciful, from still ministering affections. Memory was not satisfied to preserve only, but still continued the service which the recipient seemed no longer able to appreciate. The temple was raised to commemorate the virtues, the loss of which continued to be deplored; and the choicest language of love was employed, to speak at once for the living and the dead. Incense was offered at the tomb, garlands hung above it, and homage came with daily tribute of flowers, to keep fresh the proofs of an affection which still felt its lasting alliance with the departed. Mr. Fraser happily remarks, in proof of this devotion—

"In no place that we read of, was greater respect paid to the dead than in Athens. In the performance of every rite, and in the observance of every solemnity which even superstition required, the heart seemed to take an active share. The grave of a deceased friend was anointed with perfumes, and decorated with garlands of myrtle and amaranth, and his memory was ever afterwards held sa-

cred. The law protected it; for a severe penalty was imposed by their great legislator upon all who spoke evil of the dead. And the monuments erected to their memory, it was always considered a sacred duty to honour and respect. A good name was regarded by the heathens as the only human blessing of which death could not deprive a man. And the certainty of its being thus guarded, was a great consolation in their last moments.

“Nor were the Romans less observant of all the solemnities due to the obsequies of departed friends. For, whether they burned, or buried them, their tombs were held sacred, and were protected by law from violation. To the Romans, more than to any other people of antiquity, are we indebted for the touching and beautiful custom of scattering roses over the sepulchres of the dead, now so much practised in all civilized countries, and of which we have so recently seen a striking instance in our community. The rose, it is well known, was a favourite flower amongst the Romans, and always used in the greatest profusion on festive occasions. Their poets abound in allusions to this habit, which prevailed even to the latest period of the empire. But one of them alludes to roses also as an emblem of mourning. Indeed, so grateful was their odour believed to be to the manes of the dead, that entire gardens are said to have been bequeathed by wealthy Romans for the adornment of their tombs; whilst the less fortunate citizen was satisfied with this humble appeal to the wayfaring man:

“I pray you, traveller, scatter roses over my urn.”

“If their public buildings were so many monuments of strength and magnificence, their tombs were also erected upon a corresponding scale of beauty and durability. And their epitaphs (for their’s was a language for epitaphs) were no less remarkable for tenderness of sentiment, than for condensed beauty. Where could eulogy be more happily expressed, than in these *eight words*, on a youth buried by the side of the Flaminian way:

“Custus, moribus, integer pudore,
Velox ingenio—decore felix.”

Or how could parental affection be more touchingly inscribed, than in the following *three*:

“Pia mater fecit.”

Of the fanciful nature of these tributes from the dead up to the living, our orator affords us some sweet and striking samples. He instances such as frequently occur in the burial places of the Turks.

“There is a law of their religion forbidding any other memorial

to be placed over a grave, than a simple wreath of myrtle or flowers ; but even this law of their religion is made to yield to that of affection ; for they have monuments of marble, inscribed with all the beauty of Eastern imagery, and recording, in language at once figurative and mournful, the virtues of the departed, and the friendships which death has severed. Over the grave of one of their poets, is the following inscription : ‘ The nightingale which charmed us on earth, is gone to sing in the groves of Paradise.’ Over that of a young unmarried female, are these beautiful expressions : ‘ A tempest has swept over a garden of roses, and borne away a blossom to adorn the courts of heaven.’ And what could be more exquisitely touching, than this epitaph of a mother over her daughter : ‘ The little bird of my heart has fled from its cage.’”

In earlier periods of the world, these sympathies of the living for the dead, prompted the burial of their remains in near neighbourhood with the habitations of the survivors. The same feelings which made the urn, with its individual ashes, a precious deposit in the household, naturally caused the desire to rear the mausoleum and the monument in similar propinquity. Burial within the walls of the city, and in grounds rendered sacred as places of worship, was the next step in the progress of civilization ; and vast cities of the dead occupied, in most Christian lands, a considerable space in the centres of the living. The Israelites had taught us a better practice, in burying *without* their cities ; but their social customs have not often been followed by those who regarded them naturally as the enemies of the Christian religion. Recently, however, our practice has undergone a change in this respect. Sanatory considerations have been brought to bear upon the subject, and a regard to the health of the living has prompted, in modern periods, the plan of intramural burial. Public opinion, in present times, has arrived at the conclusion, that health requires that the dead should be assigned a place apart from the busy thoroughfares of life. Every grave is a vault which becomes a well ; and in cities which rely for water upon reservoirs excavated in the earth, which necessarily drain all contagious deposits of water—the mind naturally revolts at the idea that we must drink corruption and decay with every draught. Pestilence may well be feared from vast accumulations of the dead within the walls of a crowded city ; and as a people address themselves to the purification of their places of abode, will they seek to avoid the perils arising

from such a practice. On the subject of intramural burial, we cannot forbear some further passages from the interesting discourse of Mr. Fraser:

"In progress of time, the lands contiguous to churches were consecrated and set apart as cemeteries, and the custom of burying within their limits, became extended, with the dominion of the parent church, to every part of Europe; for, when the Reformation took place in England, it found cemeteries or church-yards attached to every place of worship, both in and out of cities. We know that their introduction was of much earlier date than the reign of Edward I.; yet, there is a statute of his recognizing their sacredness and providing against their violation. But the custom of burying within churches continued, notwithstanding, and has been practised even to the present day. Westminster Abbey has been called 'a vast assemblage of sepulchres;' and St. Paul's Cathedral—itsself a monument—covers the ashes of a host of England's worthies. From their earliest use in England, there were, no doubt, many reasons in favour of cemeteries being made appendages to places of worship; not only for the facilities they afforded for performing the funeral rites of the church, but on account of the solemn and serious reflections to which their vicinity naturally disposed the mind in the hours of devotion. Besides, there was not a year added to their dates, that did not also add to their claims upon individual feeling, as the depositories of kindred and friends; and this consideration, alone, gave to them a sacredness and value beyond calculation. Nor was this all; for, in proportion to these, was the very natural desire which every one felt of sleeping with their fathers; whilst the sanctity given by consecration to cemeteries in close proximity with the church, no doubt added weight to these considerations in minds piously disposed.

"We thus endeavour to account for the earnest traditional attachment of the English people to church-yard interment; an attachment very naturally transmitted to their American descendants. But, however proper the wish, or numerous the reasons, for a continuance of the custom, it may be carried to such an extent in cities, as to threaten dangerous consequences to public health. Evils of alarming magnitude have been found to proceed from it in London, with a population whose annual amount of deaths is fifty-two thousand.

"If years ago, the remark was made, that 'it was easier to provide for the living than the dead,' in that great metropolis; if years ago, pressing memorials were addressed to the government on the abuses growing out of intramural burials; if cogent appeals were made to public opinion, on a practice even then pronounced 'absurd and prejudicial;' with what force must the whole subject have come before the English nation, since their government has, at length,

responded to these appeals, and acted with a zeal suitable to the emergency. Proper means were taken to inquire into the extent of the evils complained of, when the most revolting abuses were found to exist, in the interment of their dead; abuses not only repugnant to every feeling of humanity, but menacing the propagation of disease and mortality. Information was even sought on the continent, when it was ascertained that every city, both in France and Germany, visited with that view, had abolished intramural burials. And here, we cannot but wonder that a people so reasonable and enlightened, and so prominent in every project of social improvement, should have remained so long inactive on a subject of such vital importance. The only previous practical step of the government that we are aware of, was the granting of corporate privileges to the Kensall Green Cemetery Association about the year 1831.

"The French, however, were greatly in advance of them, for the city of Paris, upwards of sixty years ago, became deeply impressed with the danger of having cemeteries in the midst of her crowded population, and determined to suppress them. It is said that that of the Innocents alone had existed for a thousand years; and as pestilential fevers resulted from its continued use, an investigation was set on foot, the result of which was so alarming, and the need so pressing that it was forthwith discontinued. The remaining cemeteries of Paris were also afterwards suppressed, and others substituted for them in the environs of the city; one of which was the celebrated *Pere la Chaise*, so called from being situated on ground formerly occupied by the mansion of the celebrated confessor and counsellor of Louis XIV.

"Thus, the removal of cemeteries from the abodes of the living, appears to have proceeded altogether from *sanatory considerations*. More need not be said, of the importance attached to the subject in the great cities of the transatlantic world."

But if sanatory considerations alone have prompted the change from intra to extra-mural burial, the practice finds its sanction in moral considerations also. There is no doubt that the mind feels its veneration lessened by a too frequent contemplation of the emblems of mortality. The places of sepulture lose in public esteem in proportion as they come in conflict with the lessons of daily life, and its eager cares and anxieties of pressing daily interests. We pass church and grave-yard equally with indifference, when we hurry by under the impulse of trade and mere worldly objects—when we eat, drink and are merry, with the tombs and vaults of silent generations lying at our feet. Thought ceases to find provocation in their pre-

sence, and contemplation shrinks from those walks among the objects of her former association, when she can no longer pursue those walks without scrutiny and interruption. She needs a spot to which she can retire in lonely musing; where the hum of busy life will not vex her ears; where she may dismiss those associations of time which conflict with her preparations for eternity.

Within a very few years, the progress of improvement, in regard to public cemeteries, has been very great in our country. Moral and sanatory considerations have both wrought happily together in bringing about this improvement. The northern cities have been the first to adopt a system of burial, which promises to secure increased health to the living, and to afford to fond and affectionate survivors the privilege of visiting, in silence, the sacred places which keep the remains of the beloved one. Mount Auburn, Greenwood and Laurel Hill, are cities of the dead, already famous in their respective regions—filled with beautiful memorials of art and remembrance. The “Magnolia Cemetery,” near the city of Charleston, was planned upon these models by the enterprising company of gentlemen to whom it owes its origin. This beautiful spot, so happily suited in natural respects to the object had in view, lies immediately without the suburbs of the city, on the banks of Cooper River. It consists of a tract once well known as a lovely farmstead, and bearing the appropriate name of “Magnolia Umbra.” It looks out upon the harbour of Charleston, and is distinctly visible at the first entrance from the sea. It was consecrated to its sacred purposes on the 19th day of November, 1850, and the publication before us records the proceedings of that day, with the prayers, the odes, the oration and the poem, by which consecration was rendered appropriately solemn. Our limits will not allow us to expatiate further upon the subject. We will content ourselves with a few more extracts from the beautiful address of Mr. Fraser, which will furnish a proper conclusion to this notice. He addresses the proprietors of the Cemetery, on the work which they have done, and its claims to public favour.

“Having endeavoured, in the foregoing remarks, to present to you some of the moral and prudential considerations involved in our subject, it is the hope of him who addresses you, that, neither singly nor collectively, have any been urged, which might not justify the congratulations he now tenders to you for your successful

efforts in an enterprise so novel in our community, and so important in its objects. Although the necessity has not yet arisen for any prohibitory enactment, in relation to the long established graveyards of our city, yet its population is a growing one; and it is a mark of prudence to look forward to future interests in our arrangements for the present. Therefore, you profess the desire, in establishing this cemetery, 'to make more ample provision than now exists for the final disposition of the remains of our own, and of coming generations.' You further declare it to be your 'aim to supply this want by the establishment of a rural cemetery, where the beauties of nature and the cultivation of taste and art will lend a soothing influence to the grave.' In these declarations are emphatically condensed the whole scope of the preceding remarks.

"You have been happy, in a section of country not remarkable for any variety of scenery, or for any striking features of landscape beauty, in having selected a site capable of every improvement required for the use to which it is to be appropriated. Like the unsullied canvass, inviting the creations of fancy from the pencil of the artist, a wide field, in almost original simplicity, is here spread before you by the hand of nature, and requiring only the adornments of taste to carry out her design of beauty. Greater undulation of surface would scarcely be desirable, it being already sufficiently varied to favour the meandering course of the water, which flows beneath yon moss-hung oaks, even to the limits of your enclosure. There we behold a neat funeral chapel, lifting its gothic tower above the trees that embower it, with its deep-toned bell always ready to welcome the 'stranger and sojourner' to this mansion of rest.

"Nor can we be indifferent to the prospects which attract the eye on every side—Cooper River pursuing its quiet course towards the ocean, and the ocean blending its dim line with the mists of the horizon; the harbour, with Sullivan's Island and Forts Moultrie and Sumter in the distance; the approach and departure of vessels; and last, though not least, Charleston itself, with its lofty steeples and its forest of masts in beautiful perspective.

"There is a result of no ordinary interest that awaits the success of your undertaking, which is, that upon the portals of this enclosure no token of exclusion is inscribed, no preference of any religious tenet or position; but adopting the charities of the grave, which levels all distinctions, natural or social, amongst men, and brings them, however diversified their conditions, or discordant their opinions, to one common rest, you offer the repose of this cemetery upon conditions irrespective of *denominational* distinctions, and free to all alike who may accept them. Those who have journeyed through life in different paths of belief, may meet here in peaceful oblivion of all discord and jealousy. Whilst to those who are unwilling to be separated from their brethren in faith, when the seed committed

to this ground shall have been called into life by the 'Lord of the harvest,' of what little avail will have been the companionship of the grave.

"Death can scarcely be said to have yet entered upon the soil thus formally surrendered to him. But how soon he will come to claim possession, and to exercise dominion over it, who can tell? The tomb beneath that spreading oak was found here when the Company became proprietors. It marks the resting place of a youthful soldier of the Palmetto Regiment, and will always be a valued trust in their possession. If the solemn invocations in which we have this day united, are to impart a sanctity to these precincts, then is that spot doubly consecrated. Filial piety, parental affection, devoted patriotism, are the moral elements of the atmosphere that surrounds it. It has a history worthy of the most lasting honour and respect. For *there* were interchanged the last farewell words between a dutiful son and an affectionate mother. The regiment was quartered in this neighbourhood on the eve of its departure for Mexico. Under that tree, and on that secluded spot, unseen by human eye, the interview took place. How deeply it impressed him, may be learned from the fact, that he requested, should he fall in battle, that his remains might be brought home to his native soil, and deposited on a spot so endeared to his recollection. After being honourably engaged in every battle with his regiment, and participated in every danger and hardship to which it was so gloriously exposed, he fell a victim to disease. His request was remembered, and complied with, and *there*, in a soldier's grave, he lies. Peace to his remains, and honour to his memory. That grave beyond, with its little dreamless slumberer, may be regarded as a token of the smiles of heaven upon this undertaking, as though it had been ordained that the first word inscribed on the first page of your history, should be INNOCENCE.

"Many of you who hear me, are surrounded by the very clods that shall hereafter cover both you and yours. Let imagination look forward but a few years, to the scenes which these spreading lawns will exhibit. Amidst the luxuriant evergreens that will then shade them, the rich shrubs, and vines, and rose trees, that shall embellish them, here and there will be seen an urn—an obelisk—a broken column, looking out from their drapery of verdure. But can imagination discern the names inscribed on them? Can its keenest glance penetrate that surface, and discover whose dust it is that lies underneath? No! For that is a mystery confined alone to the volume in which are recorded the issues of life and death."

ART. X.—THE PROSPECT BEFORE US.

Is Southern Civilization worth preserving? From the Southern Quarterly Review, for January, 1851. Charleston: Published by the Southern Rights Association.

THE question asked in the able pamphlet before us—is Southern civilization worth preserving? are Southern rights and institutions?—is one that no Southron will dare answer in the negative. How, with a perfect knowledge of our own condition, otherwise prosperous, if suffered to exist peaceably, we can answer otherwise, it is difficult to understand. How, too, with a perfect knowledge of the tumultuous, wild, capricious and dangerous opinion of the Northern States, their mobs, confusion, outbreaks and incendiary doctrine, which leaves nothing sacred, nothing secure, and threatens the stability of all those pillars of society upon which man has been accustomed to lean in hope and safety, we can doubt that not only our own peace, but that of the whole country, must depend upon the conservative institutions of the South, is still more incomprehensible. But, in fact, there is no doubt of this sort among us. No one questions the necessity, as well as the propriety, of maintaining the civilization of the South. The only question is, how shall this be done? How can we compel the respect and forbearance of our enemies? how secure the stability of our institutions. This is the question of the day.

Unfortunately, it is in the answer to this question that unanimity in the South ceases. The future is involved in darkness—the problem is without solution—the embarrassing doubt and difficulty prevail. The case is one of the greatest difficulty that has ever been presented to the consideration of our people. It is one that they must meet. The question must be answered. It cannot be stifled. It must make itself heard, and the time is short for deliberation. Yet we differ. We are not agreed upon any thing but the wrong that we have suffered and the dangers which still threaten us.

We have endeavoured to elude these dangers, but in vain. We have tried all that the powers of eloquence could do, in the halls of Congress, and we have endured all that human forbearance can endure, to appease the voracity of our foe. Like the traveller pursued by Sibe-

rian wolves, we have thrown out our very jewels, to try and retard their rapid progress; but all in vain—on, on they come! We have only excited their voracity—it is our life-blood that they seek! Will they get it without a struggle? Shall we await the approach of our tardy allies, or shall we commence the struggle single-handed? In a word, shall we remain yet in this unequal copartnership, or shall our State secede alone, when she conceives it necessary to do so? We should weigh well every probable consequence of our action, whatever it may be. We must consider every advantage or disadvantage which can arise from separation, not only to the whole South, but to ourselves; for we must not stand up as the champion of others, to receive the blows and none of the profits. We are bound to act in such a manner as best to maintain the honour and promote the welfare of our State, in the first place, provided we do nothing injurious to our neighbours and friends, who have the same cause for apprehension. No one will deny that we have not derived (we speak for Carolina) an equal share of the benefits of the Union with any of the Northern States. A glance at the history of government will show how often laws have been passed in favour of Northern capital and detrimental to the South; while there is not one law on record favouring the South at the expense of the North. The most we have ever obtained, or that we have ever asked, was equality—and this, when granted for a while, was called concession! We will not now stop to recall these laws. Many have already done so, and have ably commented upon them. We would ask whether we do not now feel their effects? From the earliest period of the republic their influence is perceptible, in most unwholesome results to the South.

In 1787 the population of New-York was 23,000 inhabitants; that of Charleston 15,000. In 1791-92 the exports of Charleston amounted in value to \$2,917,979; while New-York only exported for \$2,528,085. In return, Charleston imported for a great amount of all kinds of European, East and West Indian goods, besides its coast-wise commerce, and this, too, so short a time after the ruinous revolutionary war, which cost us 25,000 negroes and over two millions of pounds sterling. Will our commerce now bear a comparison with that of New-York? Is this change due to our want of energy and enterprise? Surely, these were not the faults of our fathers. Is it

that their sons have become degenerate? No! the rise of New-York, and the proportional fall of Charleston, date from the enactment of the laws favourable to Northern capital, invested in manufactures and other industries!

The first tariff bill was passed in 1789. We see, by reference to the acts of Congress for that year, that duties (not so high as they afterwards became) were laid upon such articles as were then, or might be, manufactured by American citizens, with a view to encourage the enterprise and industry of the people. At this early period, and while this bill was under discussion, members from the Southern States contended for an equal encouragement to the industries of the South, or, in other words, to agricultural products. But this they could not obtain, because of the opposition of members from the Eastern States. In 1792, we find a bounty granted to vessels employed in the cod fisheries. It will be remembered that these fisheries were altogether carried on by the New-England States, which, in 1792, had 152,000 tons thus employed. In 1813 the tonnage had risen to 490,300 tons, and, in 1828, to 930,200 tons, while the entire tonnage of the United States, at that time, was only 1,200,000. This bounty, in the payment of which we of course largely contributed, gave an immense impulse to this industry, enriching those employed in it, creating good seamen, and enabling them to build and man ships for their export and import trade. In 1794, still farther encouragement was given to Northern industries, by an augmentation of duties upon foreign manufactures, and also *upon tobacco manufactured in the United States*. Thus we see Southern agriculture taxed and Northern manufactures favoured. It were too tedious to follow, step by step, all the laws of Congress in accordance with this principle. Suffice it to say, that, up to the present time, such has invariably been the case. Have we any reason to hope for more justice, now or hereafter? We only act upon the defensive—and when has a people, a party, or a man, ever gained any thing, when only fending off the blows of the assailant? And who can doubt the effects of such laws, favouring one section at the cost of the other? The waters of a river, whose channel flows not in the centre, will undermine slowly, but certainly, one shore, even though it be of rock, for the benefit of the other. They bought our produce cheap, and, fearing no

foreign competition in the market, they sold us the produce of their factories at an enormous profit. The proceeds of our industry helped to enrich them, to augment their factories, to attract thereby labourers from abroad, to increase their commerce, and, consequently, to enable them to trade more advantageously than we could do, at the South. They had the means, furnished by our labour, to import goods, and sell them on better terms than we could, thereby attracting the Western, and even Southern merchants, to their cities, to exchange their produce for goods, yielding a double profit to the importer, or to the manufacturer, and leaving their surplus cash in the hands of all the other industries in the cities. The impulse being given, this advantage has naturally increased at an enormous ratio, so that it is now almost beyond our power of control. We are in a vortex which will whirl us to utter destruction, unless, by almost superhuman efforts, we can get out of it.

New-York has certainly some natural advantages over Charleston: its harbour is larger, its entrance deeper. But the harbour of Charleston is sufficiently large for six times the largest number of vessels it has ever had: it is perfectly safe, and the water at the bar is deep enough to admit ships of over a thousand tons. The rivers that flow into the bay of New-York are larger than ours, and penetrate a greater extent of territory; but we have also large rivers, watering rich cotton and rice lands. They have rail roads, to bring the flour and grain of the North-West to their markets; but it is only of late years that any of these are exported in any quantity. We have equal facilities for bringing to us the produce of the South-West. As to climate, we certainly have the advantage of any of the Northern cities: our winters are mild and delightful, our falls pleasant, and our summers are not warmer, nor even as warm, as theirs. Charleston has had the reputation, which it certainly never deserved, of being a sickly place. By comparing its bills of mortality with those of other places, it will be found to be one of the healthiest cities in the Union. We have none of their cold, wintry storms, which are so fatal to ships, to invalids, and to the poor. All is mild and pleasant here, and business can be carried on every day of the year. What, then, keeps us down, and forces the Northern cities into an unnatural growth? Are our people wanting in energy? Scarcely! Our canal

and our rail-road were, for a long time, the longest in the Union; in fact, the Charleston and Hamburg rail-road was the first consecutive 136 miles of railway in the whole world.

Had the laws of Congress been as favourable to the industry of our section—had we been enabled to retain at home all the profits of our plantations—who can calculate the wealth that would have been accumulated at the South? Instead of that, we are checked for the benefit of our neighbours; or, to illustrate our position, if we may be allowed the simile, the North and the South are like two trees, planted near each other: the one has been cultivated and pruned, and the other neglected; the former has taken a vigorous growth, it extends its branches over the weaker one, depriving it of the beneficial rays of the sun, while its roots absorb more than their share of nourishment. It will now keep the other down, in spite of all ordinary efforts. There is but one remedy—it is to separate them!

Secession has now become inevitable. We are no more the same nation. Interest, opinion, laws, divide us, and the breach can only be widened—for fanaticism, that lever of hell, is at work. There can be no union where there exists no community of interest, no love, no equality. The end must be tyranny on one side and abject submission on the other. We already have the first. Shall the world be suffered to see us bow our heads to the yoke? No! "Our heads may fall, but they will never bend." Our civilization must be preserved!

Let us now consider what would be the probable consequence of a separation of the Southern States from the Northern. It would *not* be followed by war: for, although the navy and the army are in the hands of the foe, yet they would not risk their employment against us. The Yankees are a calculating people, and would easily understand that it is to their interest to keep quiet. They well know that, if once aroused, we could never be "subdued," and that the first gun would bring a million of rifles to the defence of the country. They could gain nothing by war, while they would have all to lose. It is said, and believed by many, that our ports would be blockaded and our planters ruined. The idea is ridiculous. This would be, of itself, a declaration of war, and what then would become of Northern capital? What would support their

government, were commerce destroyed and their supply of cotton stopped? Think you that their motley population, who are already so much inclined to rowdyism and revolution, would submit quietly to heavy taxes and to the prostration of their trade and commerce? And, besides, who would dare undertake to shut out our cotton from the world? Necessity would compel other nations to oppose such a blockade. England cannot subsist without cotton; whole cities in France and Germany would suffer. These countries would probably admire the philanthropy of our brethren, and would perhaps rejoice to see us in trouble, but they could not, for their own sakes, behold quietly our blockade.

What an impulse would then be given to our trade! Every business, every industry would be revived. We would see factories, ship-yards, foundries spring up, as if by enchantment, among us: for we have every material at hand, and within ourselves, and workers would soon flow in, to take a share. We would encourage them by our custom, and by duties, if necessary, upon foreign and Northern goods: for then these duties would be paid by us for our own use, and not for the profit of those who have proved themselves our worst foes. And to what power would we then be raised, when the known energy of our race would have for its field of action the most important agricultural country in the world, and would combine with its agriculture manufactures of every description, and other advantages which have, until now, resisted the repeated blows of Congress. From *our* union in the South we should derive strength: for we should have all our interests interwoven, connected with each other, and our feelings would be akin. From the varied produce of our lands, we might carry on an extensive commerce with the whole world; and that, too, mostly with our own vessels, built with our own live oak. We have given but a very slight sketch of what would be our condition, in the case of a separation between the two sections. We have entered into no particulars; nor do we think that we have at all exaggerated the prosperity which we should then enjoy. It is the same that would have been our lot—the lot of the present United States—had *we really been united*—had not a few fanatics, aided, perhaps, by the gold of our rival over the water, thrown a firebrand into our social and political world,

kindling a blaze which can now be extinguished only by removing from it all from which it can derive nourishment—in other words, ourselves.

Such would be the fruits of the action of the South. Let us now consider what would be the result of our single State action. Our State has a right to withdraw from this compact. This we all feel and know. We also know that government would consult neither the constitution nor justice, if they thought it their interest, or, which is the same thing, the interest of the North, to force us back into the Union; nor do we have the presumption to believe that Carolina alone could carry on war against the whole; but we are perfectly confident that any attempt at the coercion of one State would be followed by resistance from the whole South. But should they think it best to let us withdraw unmolested, and other States be not yet prepared to follow our example, we must acknowledge that our position would be rather a singular one—a small separate State, *surrounded with a people under the influence of our foes*: for I do not think our neighbours would ever be directly inimical to us. Could our own commerce, our own agriculture, suffice for our maintenance, in case we should have to depend upon them? This is a question which experience would no doubt solve in our favour, for we have within the State vast resources, now lying dormant, that would be brought out. Our energies would be powerfully exerted, and we would do for ourselves what we now get others to do for us. We could enforce our own laws, secure our institutions, regulate our tariff, duties, taxes, in such a manner as to promote the welfare of our people, form commercial treaties with foreign nations, and invite them to our ports. We could, in fact, do for ourselves what the Yankee government has done for the Northern cities. It is argued that cotton would not be allowed to come into the State for exportation; that our port would be blockaded, and that commerce would take another channel! Rest assured that Charleston offers too many advantages to trade for it ever to leave our wharves. It will force its way to us, in spite of all efforts to the contrary, and, were it resisted at its outlet, it would burst like a swollen torrent, carrying with it all obstacles to its course.

On the other hand, this single secession might become a dangerous precedent. If we prosper, others may wish

to imitate our example, and thus form a number of small independent nations, rivals to each other, which we unfortunately are somewhat inclined to be, and finally, perhaps, inimical. But even this were preferable to the oppression with which we are now threatened. "Independence, even unto death," is our motto. Let us not, however, be precipitate or rash. A skilful general, who feels he must die rather than let the enemy penetrate unmolested into his country, will yet bide his time and select his own battle-field. He will not allow himself to be forced to fight, unless his own policy shall render battle desirable. He will watch his foe, and hover about his flanks, in waiting for the time to strike. He may even retreat for a while with honour, and, when it is proper, resume the offensive, and make his scornful and deriding enemy repent of his temerity and insolence. We can forbear acting yet a while. Be sure the foe will continue to advance, until our tardy friends are roused to a sense of their impending danger. Meantime, let us prepare—let us organize and put ourselves in best condition for the strife. Our associations should connect themselves with each other and with those of other States, and act in concert—for separate action is but of little weight in the minds of the multitude and of the timid. Let us collect funds, and have them ready against any emergency, and see to the security of our respective districts, with redoubled vigilance. We have laws—let them be strictly enforced! If the time for action has not yet arrived, that for energetical organization has come. The crisis is fast approaching; we must be prepared to meet it coolly. We must beware of acting from impulse; of rushing from one extreme to the other—from impetuosity to supineness. We should not act while galled by the injustice or insolence of our foe; nor should we sleep in security when they stop to breathe, and to gather new strength for the onslaught. We must be ever awake, and, by our vigilance, counteract their efforts to throw discord among us. Let us prepare for the great change, and, when the time comes, we will tell them, "We part peaceably, if you will, forcibly if necessary." And if none of our sister States are willing to join us, why then we must proclaim single-handed our independence and sovereignty, and take the consequences, whatever they be. We shall then have been prepared for them. Had our fathers waited for en-

tire unanimity, to resist British oppression, we should still be but British colonies. Sooner or later, the two sections must part. *The South is forced out of the Union!* Upon the heads of those who have attacked us, while we extended to them the hand of friendship, let the responsibility rest, of having rent asunder the proudest monument of modern times. We owe it to ourselves to preserve ourselves and the civilization we acquired from our ancestors. In seeking to do this, we act only on the defensive. This conviction should strengthen our hearts and make our resolve unanimous. Our cause is justified by the best sanctions of heaven, and no people need fear who are true to themselves. God is with them!

ART. XI.—AN INQUIRY INTO ROMAN JURISPRUDENCE.

An Inquiry into the Use and Authority of Roman Jurisprudence, in the Law concerning Real Estate. By JAMES M. WALKER. Charleston : Walker & James. 1850.

WE have perused this essay with great pleasure ; not alone because it is well written, but because it affords evidence of a disposition to pursue a branch of study too long neglected. Wherever we see a lawyer who has progressed far in his profession, who, instead of being what Cicero terms a *Rabula*, a miserable mechanical jurist, devoted to the calling merely that he may avariciously profit by others misfortunes—is truly disposed to follow it as a means of benefiting his fellows, and as a worthy philosophical science ;—we then see an ardent love indulged for that ancient system of jurisprudence, known as the Civil Law. It is very common to speak of Lord Bacon, as the inventor of the science of induction. All due credit should be given to that eminent man for putting it in practice in the dark age in which he lived, but he deserves none as the inventor. The truth is, that the science of INDUCTION, by which we mean the business of reasoning from first principles, rather than following precedents, and the authority of great names, owes its origin to nature. It is a privilege which every human being possesses ; and if he does not exercise it, his education

and his prejudices are to blame, not his reasoning faculties. The Roman Jurists were fully aware of this—for certainly no more complete and beautiful system, illustrating this science, has ever been composed, than that known as the ROMAN CIVIL LAW.

The care and attention bestowed in the collecting of the various principles composing this code; the sagacity which could perceive the necessity for it, and the wisdom and justice which prompted its publication, must ever reflect on the character of the Emperor Justinian, and his eminent agents in the work, the highest and most enduring reputation. The work thus given to the world, and which, unknown to men, has, in the silent march of ages, and through the labour of the savans of the land, been gradually incorporated on the judicial systems of every civilized nation; may be properly said to be the union of all the principles, which for ages the wise and good men of Rome and Greece had inculcated, as principles of reason and justice, immediately drawn from natural law, and applied to the condition of men in society. On the great maxim, *live honestly, do wrong to none, render to each one his due*, the whole system in its numerous, but essential details, rested. And, as a leading principle which nature dictated, and which every one, whether in a natural state or in society, was obliged to admit as reasonable and just, this was taken as a great foundation, on which the whole superstructure was built.

It is not an unimportant feature in this code, that it was the triumph of the Stoic over the Epicurian philosophy. We will not be surprised to find in it, therefore, the most subtle moral distinctions, and the most rigid maxims of strict justice. Refined to the utmost in the crucibles of this philosophy, we see, in every page of this wonderful work, critical differences, which, to us, may seem useless, but which the peculiar cavillings and abstractions of that day rendered necessary. If the principles had been more generally expressed, opportunity would have been given to opposing sects, for injurious animadversions. We may refer to one instance. We consider it enough to express, under the general term LAW, all that relates to the subject. The Roman Jurists enforced a distinction between LAW and RIGHT, which was expressed under the terms JUS and LEGES. All the French and German writers recognize this distinction—the latter, in the same Latin

terms ; the former, by the words *DROIT* and *LOIS*. By *JUS* was understood those immutable rules, which nature reveals, and which are common to men, and enforced by the immemorial usages of all countries, disposed to recognize the difference between right and wrong. By *LEGES* is understood the enactments which result from the real or accidental wants of society. The first great division of this system was into public and private right. The latter was beautifully arranged under the three hands of Natural Right, *Jus Gentium*, and Civil Right. The Natural Right considered man as an animal ; the *Jus Gentium* as a sociable being endowed with reason ; the Civil Right viewed him as a citizen of a particular community. The system known as the *Jus Gentium*, and which is the foundation of the national law of the present day, was not exactly the same thing. The national law of our day, is sometimes merely arbitrary rules, governing the intercourse of nations. The *Jus Gentium* was the principles of natural law, applied to men as citizens of the world—a positive law of all people—common principles of moral justice, regulating all civilized persons, who were citizens of different countries.

In saying that the Roman law was founded on the philosophy of the Stoics, we mean that it was founded in the moral sentiments revealed by men's consciences on those inherent ideas, which command our respect for whatever is just, great and good. The civil law is not then a mere arbitrary system of particular legislators. Its authority does not consist in the fact, that it was the edict of a Roman *Præter*, the law of the Twelve Tables, the collection of Justinian ; but in the fact, that it was born in the bosom of moral philosophy, and imparted to man the justice which God had established. It is this fact that has obtained for it the respect and obedience of nations, which had never been under the dictation of Rome. It forms to day, the foundation of much of the common and statute law of England, and may be found incorporated in the decisions of the courts, and on the statutes of many of the newer American States. It is the root of the laws of the South American governments ; and is the law of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Scotland and France. Day by day, a few learned men are disclosing its analogies, enforcing its wise maxims, and connecting its principles by name, as they are by nature,

with our local laws ; and we hope the day is not distant, when schools of this science shall arise in the South, when our young men may, as in Germany and France, drink at the fountain head of the law. As Girand has expressed it, what may not be expected of a system, whose source is the conscience, whose sanction is society, whose object is the guarantee of men's liberties, and the protection of their social rights, on principles of natural equity ? Of a system, which, in the sublime thought of Ulpian, is the knowledge of things divine and human ; the science of justice and injustice.

"Divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia, justi atque injusti scientia."—*Ulpian Fragment 10, ff. Lib. 1, Title 1.*

It must appear, from what has been said, that in the present absence of schools to impart a knowledge of this system, in the absence of English translations of works on the civil law, he renders a valuable service to the cause of jurisprudence, who, like Mr. Walker, devotes himself to the labour of tracing the analogies of the older and new systems, and imparting a knowledge of the truthful doctrines of the former. We have looked ourselves enough into this system, to be able to speak with confidence of the correctness of Mr. Walker's views ; and we trust he will continue to elucidate the subject, by treatises on other branches of the civil law.

It is easy to those who have, after much labour, for it is no easy one, mastered the civil law, to trace the connexion between that system, and much of the jurisprudence of the present day. There is no doubt but that the office of Chancellor or Equity Judge, as well as much of the doctrines of equity, are derived from the civil law. Let us mention one instance. It is a maxim of equity as now administered, that the seller of an estate shall make compensation for all incumbrances which he knows of, and omits to disclose. In Cicero de Officiis, is found a case where this very maxim was recognized and enforced ; and which may be cited, older than the precedents in Chancery, as the case of *Sergius Orata vs. Gratidianus* :—Crassus, for complainant ; Anthony, for defendant.

So, it will be found, on examination, that the rules governing legatory matters—the condition of married women—mortgages, partnerships, set-offs, minors, and commercial matters, are identically those of well settled principles of the civil law ; and, lastly, it may be stated

that the entire system, known as mercantile law, and for which the world is indebted to Lord Mansfield, was drawn wholly by that great lawyer from the Justinian Code.

We might go further, and show that the Recuperators of Rome, were the original of our jurors: that Bracton's celebrated treatise is divided like the *Corpus Juris*, and is full of quotations from it; and that the whole doctrine of trusts is founded on the civil law doctrine of *Fidei Commissa*. But we have said enough, not only to show our respect for Mr. Walker's labours, but for the system he has in one branch illustrated. May we not express the ardent hope that not only he, but others, will extend these useful and brilliant inquiries? The study of the Roman law, is a most fruitful and pure source of judicial erudition. It is indispensable to a correct knowledge of the principles of right and law. For nearly two thousand years it has governed the finest part of the civilized world. Bacon, Leibnitz, Bossuit, Kant, were admirers of it, and studied it profoundly. No system of legislation ever produced so noble a monument of justice and truth; and when it shall be grafted on free institutions, as we trust it is destined to be, it will not only defend nations from barbarism, but extend to their people the purest institutions, and give to modern times the *chef d'œuvre* of antiquity.

P.

ART. X.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Lavengro: the Scholar—the Gipsy—the Priest.* By GEORGE BORROW, author of "the Bible in Spain," and "the Gipsies of Spain." New-York: Geo. P. Putnam. 1851.

TO MOST readers, the present work will prove a disappointment. The previous writings of the author were of singularly attractive character, mostly because they suggested new views of an old subject, and, in the case of the Gipsies, afforded one which was, in considerable degree, possessed of the charm of novelty. At first, he found full faith with his readers for his previous narratives. Subsequently, his correctness has been questioned, and his veracity has been subjected to sundry severe assaults, from other travellers over the same ground with himself, in Spain. On this head, however, while the relative weight of testimony remains undecided, it would be unjust to determine against him. Giving him full credit, therefore, for equal truthfulness and capacity, and for such a judicious choice of subject and freshness of treatment as rendered his works interesting in high degree to his readers, the question naturally will be, in what measure has he sustained himself in the present work, and to what extent will he secure the sympathies of the public. To answer this will depend much upon the question—which we cannot settle—whether "*Lavengro*" is to be considered an autobiography. If so, its contents are provocative of sundry curious psychological and mental problems. If it be purely speculative—in plain terms, a work of simple fiction—then, very much of it is sheer extravagance, if not impertinence, since it depends upon a showing of facts, as testimony, which is simply speculation. Was the early career of Mr. Borrow such as he has described it in "*Lavengro*?" Were such his tastes, habits and associations? A word in the preface might have settled our doubts; yet this word has been withheld. Mr. Borrow gives us this book as a dream. In what sense are we to take him? To detail the eccentricities of an objectless life, which is yet not a life, is scarcely possible, particularly where these eccentricities conform in few respects to the reason or apparent reality, and when they seem designed for no purposes of art or fiction. We are reduced to the necessity of supposing that much of the narrative is fact, and that our author did himself live, and experience life, according to the career of his hero. Assuming this, the moral portions of the book become a psychological study, and a curious one, and Mr. Borrow appears in an anomalous character, which makes him a continual problem. This portion of the subject we have no space to pursue. It remains to speak of the contents of the book; which are rather descriptive of persons and things than

productive of opinions. The gipsey race, their language, origin, character and general history, form a large part of his material. Mr. Borrow regards their language as one of the original, perhaps the first of all, languages. He regards the race as the founders of the Roman. A single paragraph on the subject of this people :

"From this time I had frequent interviews with Jasper, sometimes in his tent, sometimes on the heath, about which we would roam for hours, discoursing on various matters. Sometimes, mounted on one of his horses, of which he had several, I would accompany him to various fairs and markets in the neighbourhood, to which he went on his own affairs, or those of his tribe. I soon found that I had become acquainted with a most singular people, whose habits and pursuits awakened within me the highest interest. Of all connected with them, however, their language was doubtless that which exercised the greatest influence over my imagination. I had at first some suspicion that it would prove a mere made-up gibberish ; but I was soon undeceived. Broken, corrupted, and half in ruins as it was, it was not long before I found that it was an original speech, far more so, indeed, than one or two others, of high name and celebrity, which, up to that time, I had been in the habit of regarding with respect and veneration. Indeed, many obscure points connected with the vocabulary of these languages, and to which neither classic or modern lore afforded any clue, I thought I could now clear up, by means of this strange broken tongue, spoken by people who dwelt among thickets and furze bushes, in tents as tawny as their faces, and whom the generality of mankind designated, and with much semblance of justice, as thieves and vagabonds. But where did this speech come from, and who were they who spoke it? These were questions which I could not solve, and which Jasper himself, when pressed, confessed his inability to answer. "But, whoever we be, brother," said he, "we are an old people, and not what folks in general imagine, broken gorgios ; and, if we are not Egyptians, we are at any rate Rommany Chals !"

We had marked sundry other passages for insertion, but can find no place for them at present. Our author has a bitter antipathy to the Roman Catholic Church, though he denies having written this matter in regard to the present subjects of excitement in Great Britain. He gives some very savage portraits of its priesthood. He is scarcely more gentle with the dissenters, of all sorts, from the English Church, to which, while canvassing freely the vices and defects of its priesthood, he declares the most affectionate attachment. One portion of his narrative is devoted to the portrait of a Welsh Methodist, or Quaker—a strong piece of character painting—the delineation of a morbid moral nature, sensitive almost to insanity. He excels in this sort of portrait, and gives us that of a distinguished

literary man, of similar mental constitution, with like infirmities. The Welsh is one of those languages which he has learned to admire. He has translated some of their bards, samples of whose ballads he gives us, but for which he could never get a publisher. His career as the drudge of an editor is an amusing one, and perhaps not greatly exaggerated. He prides himself on his faculty for acquiring languages—hence his name “Lavengro” or Word-Master, which she owes to his gipsy associates. He also prides himself a little on his excellence in the ring. He is a bruizer, and greatly honours the prowess of England in the art of boxing, which he clearly, and perhaps not unwisely, regards as one of the chief instruments of human civilization. His portraits of character are mostly good, and in some instances very striking. There are some beautiful and even brilliant passages in this volume—philosophies glimpsed at rather than shown—and fancies which, in future days, may become philosophies. Altogether, the book is a strange and remarkable one. We have said that it will cause disappointment, but perhaps only to the general reader. He will be constantly at a loss to conceive the real object of the writer, and his precise opinions. He will continually suspect the want of purpose, and perhaps of principle, in the author, and will quarrel with his abruptnesses; but to those who read the volume with regard to the writer himself, as his own subject—and he is a man of enormous egotism—his opinions, sentiments and character—and who will tolerate a wild and incoherent plan, in regard to a frequently shrewd and impressive passage—the volume will be found eminently provocative and commonly interesting.

2. *Lives of the Queens of Scotland, and English Princesses connected with the regal succession of Great Britain.* By AGNES STRICKLAND, author of “*The Lives of the Queens of England.*” Vol. I. New-York: Harper & Bro. 1851.

TO THOSE who have read the very pleasant histories already given to us by Miss Strickland, of the English Queens, no commendation of the work before us will be necessary to prompt its perusal. It is the proper sequel, or rather the companion series, to the former publication, resembling it in plan and character, quite as interesting in the value and variety of its details, and, in some considerable degree necessary to it, in consequence of the near relation, in frequent instances, of the several subjects in both. Of the number of volumes to which this publication will extend, it is not possible for us to say, and only possible to conjecture. In all probability, this series will require as many pages as that which preceded it. Nor, considering the variety and interest of the material, is this to be considered an objection. The events of Scottish history, particularly

in relation to its female sovereigns, are, to the full, as exciting, impressive and instructive as those which concern the princesses of Southern Britain; in character as decided and striking, in pride and fortunes quite as well fitted to point the moral and adorn the tale. The first volume of the new series, only, has been published in this country. It contains an introductory preface—in which the author limits her statements to those matters only which render a preface necessary—which is followed by the lives of Margaret Tudor, Queen of James IV. and sister of Henry VIII.; of Magdalene of France, first Queen of James V. and daughter of the celebrated Francis I. of France; and of Mary Lorraine, the second Queen of James V. and widow of the Duke de Longueville. Of these biographies we have only read the first, which occupies more than one-half the volume. Margaret Tudor, a feeble-minded, badly taught and viciously cunning woman, affords in her history a useful series of lessons, even for those of her sex who are not born in, or destined for, the purple. Her career is full of profit and interest, and our author has gleaned from a laborious search among the chronicles, every particular which might illustrate her public and private fortunes, her character and conduct, or the manners of her time, in both England and Scotland. Our female and courtly readers, in especial, will find the most curious revelations on the subjects of costume, fashion, ceremonies, and all matters, indeed, which form so large a part of the necessary and imposing in the private life of public people. State fashions, the fashions of nobility, their modes of display, the profligacy and absurdities of their wardrobes, how they supped, danced, rode, slept and disported themselves, in public or in private, what they ate and drank, how they travelled and travelled, all the details of a vanity that seems to have made up mostly the nature of courtly life, amidst its worst cares and most terrible tragedies, are scrupulously detailed for the instruction and amusement of a time which may smile at the vanities of the past, without abridging, or making more dignified and becoming, such as characterize their own times.

3. *An Address before the Students of the Johnson Female Seminary, at Anderson, S. C.* Delivered at its anniversary, August, 1850. By JAMES C. FURMAN, A.M., Professor in Furman Institution. Anderson: Todd & Russell. 1850.

FEMALE influence and education, what they may or should be, are the subjects of this discourse, which is sensible, thoughtful, and written in good taste. The Johnson Institution is established on a religious basis, is said to be well conducted and prosperous.

4. *Appleton's Mechanic's Magazine and Engineer's Journal.* Edited by JULIUS W. ADAMS, C. E. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1850.

WE have received the first numbers of this useful compilation, from Messrs. Courtenay & Wienges. It is a monthly magazine, very neatly printed, apparently edited with care and judgment, and promising to be highly valuable to the practical mechanic and engineer.

5. *Letters from Three Continents.* By M., the Arkansas correspondent of the Louisville Journal. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

It is enough to provoke a saint, to have a good dinner spoiled by a stupid cook. Here is food for thought in abundance, distributed throughout this volume; a vast variety of detail, facts in abundance; but no fancies, no philosophies, no tastes, none of that capacity for dressing up the good things of thought, which should alone justify the effort at authorship. The "Arkansas correspondent" visits England, France, Italy and the East. He is busy all the while. He thrusts himself everywhere; opens the doors of Westminster, of the Louvre, of the Vatican, of Jerusalem and the harem of the Sultan; peeps into closets and under beds; sees everything; makes a catalogue of all he sees; and sends his discoveries to the press, day by day, as he makes them, never allowing himself to cool off sufficiently to meditate upon any thing. This is shocking. The consequence is, that, while his catalogue tires you, his ignorance, presumption, prejudice and crude conclusions vex you, till you reject the undigested and badly seasoned dishes, which, in good hands, might have been prepared to satisfy the most epicurean critic in Christendom. Our "Arkansas correspondent" adopts the *nil admirari* principle while in England, and discards it everywhere else. He is for giving the English a Rowland for their Oliver, and fancies he is quite patriotic, when he only shows himself blind. Turtle soup, at seventy-five cents per bowl, in Liverpool, when he can get the same quantity for a shilling in New-Orleans, is conclusive against the former place; and when he finds that Liverpool can boast of but 200,000 inhabitants, while New-York has half a million, it settles in his mind, forever, all doubts of the superiority, in all respects, of the latter region. The very fields of wheat, and cabbages, in England, only show to him that the rural civilization of that country is all stuff and humbug; and *he* can see none of those lovely cottages along the road from Liverpool to London, which delight less patriotic travellers. His book, though full, is decidedly shallow and

empty, and the ignorance is quite as bad as the vulgarity. He has seen much, but has clearly yet to learn how to observe—the great secret of the good traveller.

6. *The Women of Israel.* By GRACE AGUILAR. In two volumes. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

WE have known Grace Aguilar, hitherto, chiefly as the writer of moral romances. In the present work she takes a more dignified part, if not a more attractive one. A series of biographical sketches of the remarkable women of Israel would crowd many more volumes than the two before us. Our author has accordingly detached a select number, from the various periods of Jewish history, from its opening under Adam to its close under Herod the Great. It has been her error, we think, to avoid what we may term the sensuous for the abstract history. She has erred in the introduction of too much purely speculative and controversial matter. Her narratives are broken, accordingly, by her discussions, to the infinite injury of the interest of the biography. And we are not satisfied that our author has not set out in her researches from a point of view which naturally prepossessed her judgment and impaired its integrity. We see much in her conclusions, even from her own premises, to which the critic and the historian must dissent. Thus much, by way of warning, to the reader. He will nevertheless find these volumes useful and interesting; not as interesting as they might have been, had their author aimed less at discussion; but much more useful than he would suppose from the title of the publication. Our author was evidently well read in Jewish chronicle—the religion, customs, manners and character of the Hebrew race have been her close study—and the warm sympathy which she felt in its history has enabled her to clothe her most ordinary topic with a warmth that commends it to consideration. This sort of warmth too frequently misleads herself, if it does not mislead the reader; but it is much more easy to sympathize with her errors than to criticise them. They are only such errors as may naturally be made by, and forgiven to, the daughter of a scattered and afflicted race, and a perishing but once powerful nation.

7. *The Bards of the Bible.* By GEORGE GILFILLIAN. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

THE author of this volume has acquired a sort of reputation, of late years, by some volumes, rather clever than remarkable, of mixed literary biography and criticism. He is one of those writers who aim to represent sentiment through an atmosphere of glory;—whose ambition it is to gild the gold, and improve the sweetness of the

violet, in spite of the monitions of the master. With a very slender amount of capital in thought, he beats it out to a most leaf-like thinness, and thus succeeds in covering an immense surface. He is perpetually engaged in declamation. He says nothing simply, and like a common man. He hears what David and Isaiah have to say, catches up their songs and prophecies, as sweet in their simplicity as rich in their poetry, and spouts and sputters away, amplifying all that they have said, and dispersing, to utter loss, all the fine aroma of their fancy, till it becomes little better than the rose water of the shops. We confess to no relish for these amplifications of the Hebrew bards and prophets. We doubt that Mr. Gilfillian, or any other poet of modern times, can improve upon them; and this translating them into rhapsodical prose, this piling of metaphor after metaphor upon their simple heads, without rhyme or reason, seems to us a labour almost as profane as impertinent. But Mr. Gilfillian means something more than this. He tells us that he wishes his book to be regarded as a poem itself, though a compilation from the Hebrew poets only, with his own running commentary setting them together, as with a frame, in a cabinet of his own manufacture. A most atrocious design. The Bible itself is the appropriate setting, where the prophecy precedes the history, and the song, whether of complaint, prayer, rejoicing or triumph, is associated with the events which prompted it. To those who love a style of prose at once stiltish and florid—where figure is heaped upon figure, and metaphor upon metaphor, and trope upon trope, until the thought perishes from sheer syncope—Mr. Gilfillian is the proper writer. His ambition for fine flourishes of language is absolutely terrific. His declamation is without a moment's relief. The tin and foil, red and yellow and scarlet, glitter upon you from a thousand mirrors of cracked glass, that multiply your annoyance wherever you turn, until you entreat the dispensation of a cloud, to save your eyes and understanding.

8. *A General View of the Fine Arts, Critical and Historical.* With an Introduction, by D. HUNTINGTON, N.A., A.M. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 1851.

THIS volume is ascribed to a lady. It will prove a useful and convenient manual of the fine arts—poetry and the drama excepted—affording you summary views of art and artists, the progress of painting and sculpture in all ages and countries, slight biographies of the great masters of art, with passing sketches of, rather than critiques upon, their most remarkable achievements. The author's analysis is mostly borrowed, and is meant to satisfy the passing, rather than the profound inquirer. This, perhaps, when we consider the rail-road speed of study in our day and world, is a judicious.

feature of the plan. At all events, the work will not prove oppressive, and must be instructive to thousands. It is got up in the usually excellent style of the publisher. The preface of Mr. Huntington is in questionable taste, wanting in temper, and showing that, in his case, the arts have not altogether succeeded in modifying the moods and subduing the temper, as is their supposed property.

9. *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*. Edited by his Son, the Rev. CHARLES CUTHBERT SOUTHEY, M.A. New-York : Harper & Brothers. 1851.

THE sixth part of the American edition of this highly interesting piece of literary correspondence and biography is now before us, and concludes the work. To the literary man, the publication is one of the most interesting and instructive character. The career of a man of equal genius and industry, like Southey—his toils, trials, troubles—the thousand embarrassments of poverty and prejudice, which baffle his purpose for a season, mock his hope, and retard his progress—the courage, energy and talent with which they are overcome, and a triumphant seal of the highest success set upon his labours—may all be read in the thousand details, of real importance and impressive interest, in these copious pages. At a future time, it is probable that we shall make the works of Southey a subject of elaborate consideration. We reserve, till that time, the discussion of numerous topics of inquiry and provocation, of which this compilation is suggestive.

10. *Reveries of a Bachelor ; or a Book of the Heart*. By IR MARVEL, author of "Fresh Gleanings," etc. New-York : Baker & Scribner. 1850.

OUR author's reputation, as a graceful limner of society, has been acquired suddenly. His previous volumes have made him quite a name in American letters, from which the present will not detract. His vein here is somewhat varied. He is more sentimental and less sketchy. His reveries are of a sort to commend themselves to the reader in a dreamy state of mind, by his fireside at twilight, or, on a warm day, in the shelter of giant forests. They do not so much appeal to the heart as to the tastes and fancies. Mr. Marvel—otherwise Mitchell—has all the requisites for a successful essayist. He takes in surfaces readily, and ranges with facility from point to point. His morals are pure and persuasive, his fancies lively, and his style is marked by excellent taste, and frequently felicitous expression. There is an evident dash of Sterne in his mind ; but modified, and never adopting Sterne's freedoms. Were he more of the poet, it is probable that he would give us a collection in the charming manner

of Goldsmith. We have no doubt, after reading the preface to this volume, that Mr. Marvel is the writer of the clever essays entitled "The Lorgnette," the authorship of which seems to be in question.

11. *Poems.* By GRACE GREENWOOD. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1851.

MISS SARAH CLARK, under the *nom de plume* of Grace Greenwood, has achieved a considerable degree of popularity as an essayist and verse-maker. She appears in the latter character in the very pretty volume now before us. Miss Clarke is young, and has a long career of toil before her—certainly, before she can secure the position she has won. The exhibition which she has thus far given shows her in possession of a lively fancy and a certain degree of masculine energy in utterance and conception. But she lacks finish and ease, her taste needs refinement, and the crudeness of her thoughts is much more in proof of the haste and small motive with which she writes, than of any native mental deficiency. She has been, unfortunately, quite as much praised, by injudicious journalists, for her faults as for her beauties. The poem of "Ariadné," for example, which has been extravagantly lauded, abounds in defects, to which the strength of certain passages cannot entirely reconcile the reader. We propose, at the earliest opportunity, to review her claims more at large, with those of other of our female poets. In the mean time, the following may be taken as a specimen of her best manner:

"RECONCILIATION."

"Yes, all is well. The cloud hath passed away
That hung above our friendship's path awhile;
For truth hath pierced it with a golden ray,
And love's own sunshine bathed it in a smile.

Yes, all is well, my brother. See, I place
My hand upon my late tumultuous heart,
And its soft pulses speak the calm of peace,
Which sweetest is just after storms depart.

Now let our friendship flow, like gentle river,
With no dark stream its silver waves to stain;
And O, let no cold wintry iceberg ever
Come floating down its summer tide again!

Let nought disturb our harmony of soul,
Let nothing come between thy heart and mine,

But let the circling years, as on they roll,
Still bring us more of sympathy divine.

We are but one remove from heavenly birth—
Let heavenly truth be on each lip and brow ;
Let us be free—let not the dust of earth
Weigh down the white wings of our spirits now.

So, when we tread eternity's dim shore,
Our souls may know each other, and rejoice
That no disguise in earthly life they wore,
And spirit voice may answer spirit voice !"

12. *God, the Refuge of His People.* A Sermon, delivered before the General Assembly of South-Carolina, on Friday, December 6th, 1850, being a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. By WHITEFOORD SMITH, D.D. Columbia : A. S. Johnston. 1850.
- Christian Patriotism.* A Sermon, preached in the Cumberland St. M. E. Church, Charleston, S. C., on Friday, December 6th, 1850, being the day appointed by the Legislature of the State for fasting, humiliation and prayer. By THOMAS O. SUMMERS. Charleston : C. Canning. 1850.

A SOLDIER may always be expected to fight the better from having said his prayers. A people anticipating danger will certainly find their account in a similar preparation. God is the sure refuge for those who acknowledge his authority and appeal to him for the protection of their affairs. These two sermons have the same general subject, and were prompted by the same occasion. They declare the common sentiment of the people of South-Carolina, that their liberties and securities are in danger, and that there is an enemy almost within their walls, whom they must prepare to encounter, to repel, to defeat and utterly extirpate, or to perish themselves. It is fortunate that, in the present necessity of the commonwealth, the people are sustained by the priesthood. Religion gives its full sanction to the resolutions of patriotism, and the sermons before us, and the many delivered throughout the State on the same day, will tend, even more than any mere political harangues, however able, to encourage the hope and the resolution of our people, in waging unceasing war against the enemies of their institutions. Both of these sermons are able, warm, enthusiastic—the true sort of preaching—that which speaks to the national necessity in the language of the national heart.

13. *Speech of Hon. James L. Orr, of South-Carolina.* Delivered in the House of Representatives, Feb. 12th, 1851, on the Bill to indemnify the Public Printer. Washington : Globe Office. 1851.

THIS is a sensible and searching speech, addressed to the defeat of one of those subtle processes of party, which seek to empty the public for the benefit of private purses. Mr. Ritchie, it would appear, is to be a public pensionary. It is just as well. The Union seems to be regarded as a huge mammoth cow, at whose dugs every calf of party must have a certain privilege to suck, and to suck *ad libitum*. To speak simply, we regard the government, as it now exists, whether in the hands of whig or democrat, as a mere means of feeding rogues at the expense of fools. This subject of the public printing has some of the most rascally phases. A cunning creature of party, knowing the creatures with whom he deals, makes a bid to do the public work for little or nothing, perfectly assured that all will be made up to him by his confederates, in the long run, and that, losing nothing, but making monstrously, he will, in the mean time, succeed in defeating conscientious bidders, or the opponents of another party. This scoundrelism—for it deserves no better name—will never be cured until the government advertises for contracts in all the contiguous cities—Baltimore, Philadelphia, New-York, as well as Washington—takes the lowest offer, with security, and holds the contractor strictly to his bargain, without any regard to his subsequent pleas and pretexts. The government ought not to desire to obtain work and labour without compensation. It ought to pay neither more nor less than the work deserves. To ascertain the just measure of compensation—which is quite easy—is the simple rule for action. Let us say to Mr. Orr, that the committee on printing knows very little of the subject. Open the contracts in all the chief cities, and that may cure the corruption.

14. *Salander and the Dragon.* A romance of Hartz Prison. By FREDERICK WILLIAM SHELTON, M.A., Rector of St. John's Church, Huntington, N. Y. New-York: Geo. P. Putnam. 1851.

It requires rare ingenuity for the composition of an allegorical story. In some degree, the talent requisite for such a production is that which is needed for a fairy tale. The measure of fitness and appropriateness, by which we present the truth through an atmosphere of fancy, is the test of success and excellence in such a work. Ingenuity, alone, will avail but little to the end, unless we recognize also the presence of a very exquisite imagination. After all, allowing the success to be complete, it is doubtful—in the present condition of the world, with its directness of aim and stubborn literalness of detail and statement—if much is really gained by

the most successful allegory. The question is, whether the same results might not be produced by inventions which do not waive the probable? The tale before us, for example, might have been equally productive of the ends of the author—nay, much more so—had the invention been applied to the progress of so many living characters, in an ordinary view of society as it is. Slander is simply slander. The character is one recognized easily among men, and, truthfully delineated—as we behold him warring daily, sleeplessly, cruelly and basely, against the best virtues and the most lovely affections—the development of his actual career in society could be made quite as effective as a moral lesson, and tenfold more impressive, pathetic and terrible, as a picture, without the use of any such cold agency as that of the allegory. In respect to the fiction before us, the ingenuity is chiefly exercised in the naming of the dramatis personæ. Thus Slander is Slander, Gudnaim is Good-name or Reputation, Maligne, D'Envy, Wurthe, Gudneiburhed, and the rest, all tell their own stories; and the events are similarly modified with the names, so as to change, but only slightly, their external aspects. The book is clever, and the tale is prettily told; but what the author gains for his allegory he loses in its effect. The interest lessens in proportion to the frigidity of the medium which is employed for it. With the same object, under the design of a story of real life, and real characters in society, and a domestic novel could have been produced, which should charm and instruct a thousand readers, where this shall only please a score. Still, this is said irrelevantly to the author. He, of course, must choose that medium which commends itself most to his peculiar powers, and one may write an allegory with success who would fail utterly in a novel. We can only repeat, that the little tale before us exhibits grace and ingenuity, with a good moral. The book is very prettily printed.

15. *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution.* By BENSON J. LOSSING. Harper & Brothers. 1851.

WE are in receipt of the eleventh number of this beautifully illustrated and printed Historical Sketch Book of the Revolution. When we say Revolution, however, let us be understood as referring to that portion, only, of the Revolution which belongs to the Northern States. We half doubt whether the author means to consider the South at all, where most of the great battles were fought.

16. *Dictionary of Mechanics, Engine Work and Engineering.* D. Appleton & Company. 1851.

THE twenty-third number of this serial has reached us, fully maintaining the character of the previous issues.

17. *Shakspeare's Dramatic Works.* Boston edition. Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1851.

WE are in receipt of the thirty-second number of this most beautiful of all the American editions of Shakspeare. The work now approaches its conclusion. We regret to say that there are several gaps in the numbers sent us.

18. *The Memorial.* Written by friends of the late Mrs. Osgood, and edited by MARY E. HEWITT. With illustrations on steel. New-York : Geo. P. Putnam. 1851.

THIS beautiful volume is designed not only as a tribute to the worth of Mrs. Osgood, the poet, but as a means by which to raise a monument to her memory. The literary materials are contributed by some of our most popular belles lettres writers. They are not unworthy of their authors ; but we could have wished that they had been more generally appropriate to the object in view. Mrs. Hewitt, the editor of the volume, has done her part with propriety and grace, and the book furnishes a pleasant miscellany for fireside reading and the family circle. The engravings are well done, by the best artists, from happy designs. Mrs. Osgood was one of the most highly endowed among the female poets of our country. Her writings deserve this tribute from her friends. Of her powers we shall take occasion to speak in another place. In the mean while, it gives us pleasure to commend this memorial, which contains much that will prove agreeable to the reader, and some things that he will find it pleasant to remember.

19. *Life's Discipline: a Tale of the Annals of Hungary.* By TALVI, author of *Heloise*. New-York : Appleton & Co. 1851.

WE had occasion to commend "Talvi" in preceding pages. We now learn that this nom de plume is that of a female author. She writes with a vigour that is sometimes more than feminine. The story before us is a slight one ; but portions of it are given with considerable power. There is something original in the use which the writer makes of the gipsy woman. The historical period of the tale is that of the great struggles between the Turks and Bavarians. We are unable to say how far our author is true in her domestic portraiture. Her scenes appear natural and lifelike, and the pictures of society, though sketches only, are yet done with a free and confident hand.

20. *The History of Pendennis; his Fortunes and Misfortunes: his Friends and his greatest Enemy.* By W. M. THACKERAY, author of "Vanity Fair," "The Great Hoggarty Diamond," etc. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.

THIS pleasant story, long delayed by the sickness of the author, is at length finished. It is a close and satirical delineation of human life in its ordinary conditions, and according to the usual currents of old society. It is in the fidelity of his delineations of men and women, in common society—his just appreciation of character, and a correct moral standard applied to human portraiture—that the chief merits of Mr. Thackeray lie. In the possession of powers adequate to such portraiture, he may be said to rank with Felting and Smollett. He lacks somewhat their vivacity and art. In truth his art is not of the highest character, and we are very far from concurring with one of our contributors, who, in a previous number of this work, gave us a very spirited and well written, but highly exaggerated, estimate of the genius of Thackeray. "Pendennis," it is proper to state, is perhaps among the best of its writer's productions. It is very truthful in its portraiture, and interesting and various in its details.

21. *The Artist's Chromatic Hand-Book.* Being a Practical Treatise on Pigments, their properties, and uses in Painting. To which is added a few remarks on vehicles and varnishes, chiefly a compilation from the best authorities. By JOHN P. RIDNER. New-York: Geo. P. Putnam. 1850.

ALTHOUGH the painter of the present age is not—thanks to the modern calling of the "colour-man"—required, as were those of former times, to prepare his own pigments, yet more or less knowledge of the nature of his materials is still necessary to successful and safe practice. He will therefore bid cordial welcome to Mr. Ridner's excellent little treatise upon the chemistry of his art. To the numerous members of the profession who are unable to consult more costly and elaborate works, and to the rapidly increasing body of *amateurs*, who are indisposed to such labour, the work will be especially desirable. The author is a practical chemist, thoroughly familiar with every phase of his theme, and has himself manufactured nearly every variety of pigment, in such excellence as to win the approval and preference of our principal artists. To a concise yet sufficient examination of the characters and qualities of all the colours in use, or which are offered in the market, is added every requisite caution and instruction, in the selection and employment, and in the methods of preparing, oils and varnishes.

22. *Manual of Modern Geography and History.* By WILHELM PUTZ. Translated from the German by the Rev. R. B. PARD, M.A. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

WE had occasion, some time ago, to speak favourably of the same author, for his "Manual of Ancient Geography and History." The present work merits like commendation. It rounds the cycle of world history, and makes complete the series of manuals furnished by the same experienced author. If there be any objection to this work, it is to that portion which is due to the labours of the American editor, who is anonymous, or measurably so. His initials, J. A. S., are those, probably, of J. A. Spencer. He has done what he had no right to do. He has impaired the value of the work—as it relates to the United States portions—by speaking, in some degree, the language of the partisan. The character of the work does not contemplate the expression of opinion—only of fact. What right had he to determine on the conduct of President Jackson, in relation to South-Carolina? We could wish that our publishers—reprinting European books of this description—would, for their own sakes, employ those editors, only, who could be relied upon to state facts simply, and who would not impertinently obtrude their own partisan opinions into the text.

23. *The Prairie ; a Tale.* By the author of "the Deerslayer," etc. New-York: Geo. P. Putnam. 1851.

ONE of the least exceptionable stories of Mr. Cooper—perhaps one of the most commendable as a work of art—symmetrical in construction, and highly pleasing as a work of prose fiction. This volume belongs to the beautiful library edition of Cooper's writings, from the press of Putnam, being the fifth of the Leather-Stocking tales.

24. *The History of the United States of America, from the adoption of the Federal Constitution to the end of the Sixteenth Congress.* By RICHARD HILDRETH. In three volumes. Vol. I. The Administration of Washington. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1851.

IN three volumes, of corresponding size with that of the edition before us, our author gave us a history of our country, to the adoption of the federal constitution. The plan of the present work continues the narrative to the close of Mr. Monroe's administration. We can only acknowledge the receipt of the present volume. We have yet to examine in detail, and report upon the former, of the present series.

25. *Nobody's Son ; or the Life and Adventures of Percival Mayberry.* Written by Himself. Philadelphia: A Hart, late Carey & Hart. 1851.

DESCRIPTIVE of a boy's career, in the workhouse and at school ; the sufferings he endured under cruel managers at the workhouse ; how he was bruized and beaten ; how, in despair, he fled ; by what a lucky Providence he fell into the hands of one who possessed the clues to his early history, and was thus enabled, at the proper moment, to save him from disgrace which threatened him at college, in consequence of the discovery of his workhouse connections. The author writes in very good style, and his narrative is quite readable ; but is a little too extravagant for probability, and depends too much, for the development of its incidents, upon the chapter of opportune accidents. We may also object, that there is quite too much exaggeration in the details of wanton and brutal cruelty inflicted by the workhouse management. We do not believe that there is such a multitude of persons in the world who take delight, as so many of our writers of fiction insist, in buffeting poor, squalid and trembling schoolboys out of their breeches. Since Dickens made such successful use of this sort of material, his imitators seem anxious to prove that the world is only an immense treadmill, and the managers only such as we should assign to a menagerie.

26. *Malleville.* A Franconia story. By the author of the Rollo books. New-York : Harper & Brothers. 1851.

A PRETTY little child's book, stories and pictures, calculated at once to enliven the fancy and inform the morals of the young.

27. *First Lessons in Composition*, in which the principles of the art are developed, in connection with the principles of grammar ; embracing full directions on the subject of punctuation ; with copious exercises. By G. P. QUACKERBUSS, A.M. New-York : D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

THE plan of the author consists in an adaptation of the principle of Manesca and Ollendorff, in language, to composition. The pupil, by gradual steps and frequent repetition, passes from the manufacture of small to long sentences, to paragraphs, chapters, and finally to essays and histories. The plan is a good one, teaching grammar along with composition, and, in particular, that necessary branch of both which is so grievously neglected by so many writers—the laws and practice of punctuation.

28. *Turkish Evening Entertainments.* The wonders of remarkable incidents and the rarities of anecdotes. Translated from the Turkish by JOHN P. BROWN, United States Dragoman at Constantinople. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 1850.

THIS is not a collection of tales after the manner of the Arabian Nights, but of anecdotes, moral, social, domestic, aiming at the inculcation of the virtues. As such, many of them might be well employed in our popular collections, having the same object. They would require a somewhat better costume than our translator has given them. Mr. Brown is very rude in his style—rude but unaffected—and he modestly disclaims any pretensions to literature. In another respect will this collection prove useful. It affords a great deal of information on the subject of the domestic habits, modes of life and thought, prevailing among the Turkish and Arabian people; and writers of fiction may gather from these pages an excellent idea of the moral costume of the East, with not a few subjects for the ballad and the allegory. Let us add that the costume of the book, as with most of Mr. Putnam's publications, is particularly neat.

29. *Mississippi Scenes; or Sketches of Southern Life and Adventure; including the Legend of Black Creek.* By JOSEPH B. COBB, author of "The Creole," etc. Philadelphia: A. Hart, late Carey & Hart. 1851.

A COLLECTION of lively, careless essays, rather descriptive than narrative, and more sketchy than thoughtful. The author is truthful in his portraiture, and is measurably free from those wretched exaggerations which so deform, disfigure and utterly pervert equally the natural and the humorous, in the writings of certain Yankee delineators of Southern life, whom it would be a monstrous stretch of fancy to describe as amusing, although they desperately labour to appear so. Mr. Cobb, if he continues to write, must aim a little more at the dialogue. There are a thousand portions of the humorous tale, which no narrative can well develope.

30. *The Youth's Coronal.* By HANNAH FLAGG GOULD. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

HANNAH GOULD is not a poet, but a very pleasant writer of morals in verse. This is a collection of allegories, each embodying its moral or tale, written very smoothly, with good taste and very excellent discretion. A single specimen will suffice, as a lesson to all wrong-headed urchins, to whom ice is always destined to prove

treacherous, when they show themselves disobedient to papa and mamma :

“THE DISOBEDIENT SKATER BOYS.”

“Said William to George, ‘It is New-Year’s day !
And now for the pond and the merriest play !
So, on with your cap, and away, away,
We’ll off for a frolic and slide.
Be quick, be quick, if you would not be chid
For doing what father and mother forbid ;
And under your coat let the skates be hid ;
Then over the ice we’ll glide.”

They’re up, and they’re off ; on their run-away feet
They fasten the skates, when, away they fleet,
Far over the pond, and beyond retreat,
Unconscious of danger near.
But lo ! the ice is beginning to bend—
It cracks—it cracks—and their feet descend !
To whom can they look as a helper—a friend ?
Their faces are pale with fear.

In their flight to the pond, they had caught the eye
Of a neighbouring peasant, who, lingering nigh,
Aware of their danger, and hearing their cry,
Now hastens to give them aid.
As home they are brought, all dripping and cold,
To all who their piteous plight behold,
The worst of the story is plainly told :—
Their parents were disobeyed !”

31. *Astræa : the Balance of Illusions.* A poem delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Yale College, August 14th, 1850. By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1850.

DR. HOLMES has achieved a high reputation in this country, by his poems on public occasions, and the spirited satire which prevails mostly in his verse. He is a keen, quick discriminator, sharp at judgment and prompt in execution. It is his good fortune to write didactics with a pen of cinnamon or a stick of ginger, and, touching the sores of society, he is thus enabled to make them smart. The essay before us is a social satire, trenchant enough, but not ill-natured. The verse flows with great smoothness, is roughened with dexterity, so as to prevent monotony, and is full of vivacity. The

following extracts are full of home-thrusts, which go to show that our author is not less disposed to justice than to satire, and that he is quite as willing to ferret out presumption in Boston and New-York as in places more remote :

“ Each to his region sticks, through thick and thin,
Stiff as a beetle spiked upon a pin.
Plant him in Boston, and his sheet he fills
With all the slipslop of his threefold hills,
Talks as if Nature kept her choicest smiles
Within his radius of a dozen miles,
And nations waited till his next Review
Had made it plain what Providence must do.
Would you believe him, water is not damp
Except in buckets with the Hingham stamp,
And Heaven should build the walls of Paradise
Of Quincy granite, lined with Wenham ice.”

* * * * *

“ God bless Manhattan! Let her fairly claim,
With all the honours due her ancient name,
Worth, wisdom, wealth, abounding and to spare,
Rags, riots, rogues, at least her honest share;
But not presume, because, by sad mischance,
The mobs of Paris wring the neck of France,
Fortune has ordered she shall turn the poise
Of thirty empires with her Bowery boys.”

32. *Poems.* By S. G. GOODRICH. New-York: Geo. P. Putnam.
1851.

As a specimen of book-making, this is one of the most beautiful volumes that we have seen for many a day. The paper and typography are exquisite, and it is absolutely crowded with engravings, at once happy in design and exquisite in execution. As an annual—a gift for the holydays—it is far superior, in external beauty, to most of the class for the present season. Its literary contents, without challenging admiration for the endowments of the author, are certainly respectable. As a poet, Mr. Goodrich takes no high position. As a writer of smooth and easy verse, he may rank with hundreds who have a much greater reputation. His claims will rest chiefly upon his large collection of books, histories, travels, sciences and philosophies for the young. These, with the exception of those which relate to our own country, (in which he shows a most improper but very common Northern partiality to his own section) are no doubt very useful volumes. The poems, in the collection before us, may be judged by a single specimen :

"PERENNIALS."

"Life is a journey, and its fairest flowers
 Lie in our path beneath pride's trampling feet;
 Oh! let us stoop to virtue's humble bowers,
 And gather those which, faded, still are sweet.

These wayside blossoms amulets are of price;
 They lead to pleasure, yet from danger warn;
 Turn toil to bliss, this earth to Paradise,
 And sunset death to heaven's eternal morn.

A good deed done hath memory's best perfume;
 A day of self-forgetfulness, all given
 To holy charity, hath perennial bloom,
 That goes, undrooping, up from earth to heaven.

Forgiveness, too, will flourish in the skies;
 Justice, transplanted thither, yields fair fruit;
 And if repentance, borne to heaven, dies,
 'Tis that no tears are there to wet its root."

33. *The Decline of Popery, and its Causes.* An Address, delivered in the Broadway Tabernacle, on Wednesday evening, Jan. 15th, 1851. By Rev. N. MURRAY, D.D. New-York: Harper & Bro. 1851.

WE can only acknowledge this pamphlet, the matter of which it is not within our province to discuss.

34. *The Island World of the Pacific:* being the Personal Narrative and Results of Travel through the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands, and other parts of Polynesia. By Rev. HENRY T. CHEEVER. With engravings. New-York: Harper & Bro. 1851.

THE writer of this volume is already known to us by a pleasant little book, entitled "The Whale and its Captors." The work now before us is sketchy and agreeable, and furnishes a very readable account of that *fifth* and fragmentary portion of the globe to which we have given the name of Polynesia. It is as a sketch of this region, physically, and of its present history and social condition, that Mr. Cheever's narrative is to be commended. It is not a work to challenge criticism. It suggests and solves no problems, and its attractions are wholly upon the surface, so that he who runs may read.

35. *United States Monthly Law Magazine.* New-York: JOHN LIVINGSTON. 1851.

WE have here the first (January) number of volume third, of a periodical which has hitherto escaped our notice; but which, from a hasty glance, we should suppose would justly deserve the notice of our readers. The work is well printed, and with a proper knowledge, by the conductor, of the various departments of the profession. The contents of the number before us, which opens with a portrait of Judge Cranch, are as follows: the Practice of the Law; Legal Profession in the United States; Law Reform throughout the Union; Memoir of William Cranch, and a great number of small papers, including a vast variety of notes upon, and reports of, cases throughout the United States, with much other miscellaneous legal matter.

36. *Shannondale.* By EMMA D. E. NEVITT SOUTHWORTH, author of "Retribution," etc. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

BUT for the large promise held forth by one of the first publications of our author, we should have dismissed this volume with indifference. Mrs. Southworth has not been true to her own talent in its preparation. It is crudely conceived, and clumsily wrought out to its conclusion. The details are selected carelessly, and the dialogue, throughout, is offensive to good taste and conversational propriety. The characterization is incomplete, unformed, contradictory, and altogether in proof of a haste, in the composition of the story, which, if persisted in hereafter, will be utterly fatal to our author's future successes. She is writing too hurriedly, and without due consideration. This is the usual fault of young authors, who have been encouraged by shows of public favour. She is now at the perilous moment in her career. The indulgence of the reader will scarcely be extended to another volume like the present. Let her think of this, and be counselled. Her first production is her best. It is necessary, for her future success, that her next shall equal, if not surpass it. She has the requisite powers; let her command their fullest exercise.

37. *The Mother's Recompense: a sequel to "Home Influence."* By GRACE AGUILAR. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1851.

THIS is a posthumous work, from the pen of one of the most successful of modern female writers of the moral and religious novel. It conveys highly commendable social lessons, in a form which will be likely to commend them. As a work of art, it is open to several objections. The author divides the interest of the story among too many characters, until we not only care little what becomes of some

of them, but almost lose sight of them altogether. She lacks concentration—lacks the dramatic faculty—and succeeds rather as a sketcher, in independent scenes and chapters, than as a groupist. Her portraits lack variety, her events are meagre and wanting in animation, and the whole atmosphere of the book is sombre and oppressive. Why do religious writers so constantly mistake christianity as almost to exclude hope and cheerfulness from their fictions?

38. *Fadette*: a domestic story. From the French. [*Translated*] by MATILDA M. HAYS. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 1851.

THE original of this story is from the pen of the equally celebrated and notorious George Sand, (Madame Dudevant,) who, had she written nothing worse, would have justly merited the applause, not only of every good critic but of every good Christian. A more beautiful picture of virtue in the disguise of ugliness—nay, overcoming ugliness—and passing into the most exquisite lineaments of beauty, has not often been written. The story is beautiful, as a whole—almost free from fault—and so sweet, so pure, so truthful, so winning, that it may well redeem a thousand errors of the writer, whom we are pleased to believe has been quite as much sinned against as sinning. Madame Dudevant has many faults, no doubt, which a masculine mind like hers may well mistake for merits, if not virtues. In this happy little book, however, she shows none of them. We commend it to every circle which desires to find its thorns occasionally crowned with roses.

39. *The Girlhood of Shakspeare's Heroines.* By MARY COWDEN CLARKE, author of the "Concordance to Shakspeare." Tale I. Portia, the Heiress of Belmont. New-York: Geo. P. Putnam. 1851.

THE plan of this series, of which the first number only is before us, is pleasant and ingenious. It contemplates a series of portraits of Shakspeare's heroines, *before* they become a portion of the dramatic personæ of the great master. They are, in fact, so many prefaces to his portraits, and the merits of the author will consist in the degree of fidelity which she exhibits to their characters, as they occur in his plays. She is to show the sort of training which they receive, by which they are made the persons whom he portrays. Accordingly, it is her metaphysical capacity, as an analyst of character—her moral and social insight—that she is to establish by these narratives, rather than her endowment as a creator: for she is still to be literally true to Shakspeare's conceptions. But in this consists the danger of her plan;—not that she may be unfaithful to

the master, but that the reader will not be often at the pains to work out her problems and determine for himself the degree in which she is thus faithful. He will read the narrative, mostly, as if it were a story, and determine her claims according to the interest which the tale inspires. But, even in this respect, the prospects of our author are encouraging. In this little story of Portia, she shows invention, good taste and good sense throughout, and though defective as a whole, unless we refer to Shakspeare for the sequel, what is yet done is quite likely to afford pleasure to the reader.

40. *Henry Smeaton* : a Jacobite story of the reign of George the First. By G. P. R. JAMES. New-York : Harper & Bro. 1851.

THE historical matters embodied in this work include only to the single concluding event in the Jacobite struggle of 1715—the battle of Preston—and involve but few details of party. There is a good portrait of Lord Stair, and a glimpse of George the First, and we suppose that Van Noost, the statuary, is a portrait also, though we have no authority for the assumption but in the particularity with which our author paints him. The interest of the story is not in its history. Like all of Mr. James's novels, it is very pleasant reading, and will keep the reader moderately wakeful to the close. It has no very startling scenes, and its exciting ones are moderate. It is a clever piece of joinery, from old material, and this is pretty much all that we can say of it.

41. *The Personal History and Experience of David Copperfield the Younger.* By CHARLES DICKENS. With engravings. New-York : John Wiley. Charleston : Courtenay & Wienges. 1851.

As a whole, we suspect that David Copperfield will be thought quite equal to any of the previous writings of the author. We certainly assign it as high a place as any. The delineation of character is inimitable, in particular cases, and unexceptionable in most. The "Child-Wife" portrait is very happy, and Micawber, in his miseries, extremely so.

42. *The Luttrells : or the Two Marriages.* By FOLKSTONE WILLIAMS, Esq., author of "Shakspeare and his Friends," etc. New-York : Harper & Bro. 1851.

THE author of this story acquired considerable reputation by the domestic narratives, in which he sought to make us intimate with the youthful life and the early associates of Shakspeare. He was only partially successful in this object, and his books were overrated—rather in consequence of the boldness of their design than of their

excellence in any leading respect. The tale before us is one of ingenuity and interest. It depends for its success a little too much upon the frequency of its surprises—an old process, which has been properly consigned to the melodrame; but it has real merits besides, and the scenes in the life of the hero in India are distinguished by great animation and frequent brilliancy.

43. *The Baptist Psalmody*: a selection of Hymns for the worship of God. By BASIL MANLY, D.D., and B. MANLY, JR. Southern Baptist Republication Society. Charleston. 1851.

THE merits of this excellent and copious collection are sufficiently guaranteed by the names of its editors and its source of publication. We rejoice at every opportunity which enables us to welcome the venerable Dr. Manly in any of the walks of that sacred province in which he has been so long a faithful day-labourer, and in which the harvest to himself and others has been so abundant of grateful things. The volume before us is one of more than seven hundred pages, yet is compact and of the right dimensions for the hand and pocket. It is stereotyped, very neatly printed, on fine paper, with a good substantial binding.

44. *Eulogy on the Life, Character and Services of Hon. John Caldwell Calhoun*. Delivered at Cahaba, Ala., May 6th, 1850. By GEORGE J. S. WALKER, Esq. Cahaba: Charles E. Hahnes. 1850.

ONE of the many tributes—the spontaneous outpouring of the popular feeling, at a great national loss—to the memory of Mr. Calhoun. It is curious to perceive that the testimony of all these performances is to the same effect—all dwelling with uniform emphasis on the really strong and leading characteristics of the subject of eulogy, his just ambition, his wonderful powers of penetration and analysis, his rapid generalization, his perfect comprehension of the political system under which we live, the pure elevation of his ambition, and the moral excellence of his life. This address of Mr. Walker compasses all these topics, with sufficient evidence of a mind capable of their just appreciation, and of a heart full of the most affectionate sympathy with the subject.

45. *Congressional Documents*.

1. *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the year 1849*. Part I. Arts and Manufactures. Washington. 1850.
2. *Condition of the Banks in the United States*. Ex. Doc. No. 68. Washington. 1850.

3. *Finance Report.* Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, showing the receipts, expenditures, etc., for the fiscal year, ending June 30th, 1850.
4. *Commerce and Navigation.* Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a report from the Register of the Treasury of the Commerce and Navigation of the United States, for the year ending the 30th June, 1850. Washington. 1851.
5. *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, for the first session, Thirty-First Congress, containing speeches and important State papers. Parts I. and II. Two volumes, 4to. By JOHN C. RIVES. Washington. 1850.

WE owe copies of the above publications of Congress to our attentive friends and correspondents, the Hon. A. P. Butler, Hon. W. F. Colcock, and Hon. J. L. Orr, of South-Carolina, who will please receive our thanks for their unfailing attentions. Some of these publications may require our notice hereafter. We regret to say that they are published in a style exceedingly discreditable to the country.

46. *Message from the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress*, at the commencement of the second session of the Thirty-First Congress, with the accompanying documents. Washington. Printed for the Senate. 1850.

WE owe our acknowledgements to Senator Butler, of South-Carolina, for a copy of this publication, and for other personal and official attentions at other periods. We may add, at the close of the recent session, that he has always seemed to us, during his public career, a vigilant guardian of the rights of our State, and of the integrity of the Constitution. He has not worked, nor will he work in vain, though he may work unsuccessfully. Good work, faithfully executed, rises into the attitude of a model, becomes conspicuous as a truth, and has its uses for man, though he may not reward, or even thank the workman.

47. *The Address of the Southern Rights Association of the University of Virginia to the Young Men of the South.* Charlottesville, Va.: James Alexander. 1851.

WE welcome this evidence of a proper spirit in the rising generation of the South. Our hope must be in the young men, now receiving their first political impressions. Let them only begin right. The older politicians are so numerous the creatures of self, or of party, which is pretty much the same thing, that nothing can be expected at their hands. It is upon the unbought, unbiassed, the

ardent and frank nature of the young, now springing into manhood, that we must build all our expectations of the rescue of the South from the hands of her enemies. Our students have sent forth a manly and spirited appeal, and a correct showing of the nature of our dangers. Let the example be followed promptly, not only by the classes of every university and college in the South, but in every academy and school. Under such an impulse, the loghouse shall yet rear its Patrick Henrys, and the play ground its Washingtons and Marions.

48. *The Pathfinder: or the Inland Sea.* By the author of the "Deerslayer," etc. New-York: Geo. P. Putnam. 1851.

THE third volume of the "Leather Stocking" tales of Cooper, in the fine library edition of Mr. Putnam. This story is thought by the author, we believe, to be one of the best of his fictions. In this he is mistaken. But it ranks certainly in the second class, and will reward more than one perusal. The present edition is coupled with an interesting explanatory preface.

49. *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* New-York: G. P. Putnam. 1851.

ONE of the series, in Putnam's library edition, of the writings of Washington Irving, the first work which gave him reputation, the most popular, and perhaps the very best. It is as an essayist that Mr. Irving has been most uniformly successful. The quiet grace of his style, the delicacy and simplicity of his tastes, his happy sense of propriety, and his vein of fancy, at once pleasing and yet unobtrusive, all combine to render the essay his most favourite province.

50. *The Wide, Wide World.* By ELIZABETH WETHERELL. In two volumes. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 1851.

RATHER a series of moral and domestic dialogues than a fiction. The merits of this work consist rather in its pious tone and proper social spirit than in its art, or in any striking respects of interest or invention.

51. *True Stories from History and Biography.* By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1851.

A SERIES for youth, by one of our most pleasant story-tellers and essayists. The historical sketches are mostly from the chronicles of New-England; the biographical are drawn indiscriminately from Great Britain and America. The good taste, excellent sense and thoughtful morality of the writer are ample securities for the pro-

priety of this volume in the hands of the young. It is adorned by several wood cuts, and "got up" in pretty style.

52. *The Moorland Cottage*. By the author of "Mary Barton." New-York: Harper & Bro. 1851.

A VERY sweet and touching domestic story—one of the happiest of its kind—natural in manner, and with all its incidents shaped in an artist-like manner. A story that will prove at once grateful and instructive to all classes of readers.

53. *DeBow's Review for March* contains its usual variety of useful and interesting matter. "The Gallery of Industry and Enterprise," in this number, is illustrated with an excellent portrait, on steel, of William Gregg, Esq, the founder of Graniteville, and one of the ablest utilitarians of the South.

54. *Jane Bouverie: or Prosperity and Adversity*. By CATHERINE SINCLAIR. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1851.

A MORAL tale, full of proper lessons and few incidents—one of a class quite common, and with no remarkable features to distinguish it. The author writes sensibly and shrewdly; her maxims are usually well grounded; her sentiments correct; and her delineations, if not powerfully, yet painfully just. The book will give satisfaction to sedate minds, but will excite none.

55. *Frank Fairleigh; or Scenes in the Life of a Private Pupil*. New-York: H. Long & Bro. 1851.

SINCE the days of Charles O'Malley, this is the most lively and spirited story of the class to which that work belongs. It is a rare exhibition of animal life, wonderful spirits and exuberance, mixed with a certain degree of grace and intelligence, in the author, by which he relieves and dignifies mere events and incidents of ordinary character. The schoolboy fun and humour—shown in numberless practical and other jokes—with a fair exhibition of the varieties of schoolboy character, well delineated, are irresistible, and will compel the broad grin of the reader, without any sympathy or effort of his own. The author is a new hand, and a very promising one. We owe our thanks to Mr. E. C. Councell for a copy of this lively narrative. Since writing the above, we have received from Messrs. Courtenay & Wienges the first volume of "Lewis Arundel," by the same author, the merits of which fully sustain the claims of the writer to the praise accorded in the preceding paragraph. It is a spirited story of real life, the characters drawn with fidelity and skill, and the tale, thus far, abounding in interest.

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